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THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

We regret to announce the death of Sir Arthur Cowley, Bodleian Librarian, Oxford, and a member of the General Committee for many years. He was, among other things, an authority on Samaritan, and contributed to the *Q.S.* on that subject in 1904. He was also a skilled epigraphist, and was always ready to place himself at the Fund's disposal when difficult questions of epigraphy arose. We seize the opportunity to state that it is proposed to raise a Cowley Memorial Fund for the furtherance in Oxford of Hebrew and kindred subjects in which he was especially interested, the foundation of a lectureship in Post-Biblical Hebrew being, it is understood, one of the aims. Apply to Mr. G. R. Driver, Magdalen College, Oxford.

Correction.—In the review by Sir Charles Close in the last issue of the *Quarterly Statement, p.* 223*f.*, the word Masha'a wrongly appears as Masha's.

Annual No. 5 (see advertisement on back cover of *Quarterly Statement*) contains Mr. Crowfoot's report on his work at Ophel and the Tyropoeon Valley during the excavating season of 1927. He was assisted by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, Assistant-Director of the British School of Archæology, who has written the second part of the book dealing with the pottery and smaller finds, while Mr. Crowfoot describes the buildings and levels, analysing the stratification of the site from the earliest times to the Arab Conquest and the Crusading period. The volume contains as frontispiece the Old Gate from the north-west, 22 other plates, and 21 illustrations, there are 131 pages of letterpress and an index. Price 31s. 6d. to non-members.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archæology in Egypt dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

Antiques for Sale.—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

Miss C. M. Finn has kindly presented to the Fund seven pieces of Archaic Greek pottery, five vases of which are certified by the British Museum as Corinthian ware dating from the seventh century, B.C. Miss Finn instructs that they be offered for sale, and that the proceeds be devoted to the work of the Fund. Interested collectors are invited to call at 2, Hinde Street, and inspect them.

The new plan of Jerusalem on a scale of approximately 1 : 5,000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5s. ; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9s. The latter form is the more convenient, as owing to its size the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

Churches at Jerash.—A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928-1930, by J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A., has been published as Supplementary Paper No. 3 by the Council of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, and can be obtained at 2, Hinde Street. Price 5s. The reduced price to members of the P.E.F. or B.S.A.J. is 2s. 6d.

The library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains some duplicate volumes. They may be purchased, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found on p. 4.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contribution from :—

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Traquair (for equal division P.E.F. and B.S.A.J.)	10	0	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £15 15s. Subscriber's price £14 14s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5 except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Randall, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund (see address on cover).

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Foundations of Bible History : Joshua and Judges. By John Garstang. London, 1931.

Seventy Years in Archæology. By Sir Flinders Petrie. London, 1931.

The Mirror of Egypt in the Old Testament. By Lieut.-Comm. Victor L. Trumper. London, 1931.

Pentateuch and Haftorahs. I. Genesis ; II. Exodus. By the Chief Rabbi. Oxford University Press.

The Near East.

Journal of Egyptian Archæology, November. Primitive methods of measuring time, by R. W. Sloley ; the emblem of Min, by G. A. Wainwright.

Liverpool Annals of Archæology and Anthropology, xviii, 3-4. Statues of an enthroned Babylonian goddess, by E. D. van Buren ; excavation of the palace of Ashurnasirpal, by R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson.

Antiquaries Journal, October. Excavations at Ur, 1930-1, by C. L. Woolley.

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, June.

The Expository Times, November. Recent Biblical archæology, by the Rev. J. W. Jack.

The Scottish Geographical Journal.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, lxi, 1931. Report on the human remains found at Kish, by L. H. D. Buxton and D. T. Rice.

New Judæa.

Some Tombs of Tell en-Nasbeh discovered in 1929. By W. F. Badè. Palestine Institute Publication No. 2 ; Berkeley, U.S.A., 1931.

The Open Court, October. Among the Beduins of N. Arabia, by Henry Field.

American Journal of Philology, July-September.

Geographical Review (New York), October.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, September.

Jewish Quarterly Review, October. The historicity of the patriarchs, by Ed. König.

The Homiletic Review.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York).

History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest. By A. T. Olmstead. Scribner's, New York and London, 1931.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Jan.-April. North Arabia and the ancient Sealand, by R. P. Dougherty.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, October. Excavations at Beth-zur, by O. R. Sellers and W. F. Albright; excavations at Jerash, by C. C. McCown; the archæology of W. Asia at the Leyden Congress, by W. F. Albright; etc.

Journal Asiatique, ccxvii, 2. Stratification of languages and peoples in the Prehistoric Near East, by E. Forrer.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellènique, 1930, ii.

Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei, August-September.

I det Hellige Land. By Hans Kjær. (The Danish excavations in Shiloh.)

Archiv Orientalni, iii, 2. The first contacts of the Romans with the Parthians and the occupation of Syria, by J. Dobias; progress of the decipherment of Hittite, by B. Hrozny; Oriental religious lore in Greek magical papyri from Egypt, by Th. Hopfner.

Le Monde Oriental, xxv. 1-3. The Old Sinaitic inscription, No. 358, by J. Lindblom; Herodotus and modern reconstructions of the tower of Babel, by Axel Moberg; Dan iii, 21, by N. S. Nyberg; etc.

Litteræ Orientales, October. Basque, an African language, by Fr. von den Velden.

Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft, 1931, 3-4. Old Mesopotamian geography, by K. Jensen; old Oriental influences in Rabbinic literature, by B. Murmelstein, etc. (Valuable survey of periodicals, etc.)

Archiv für Orientforschung, vii, 1-2. Cyrus I. a contemporary of Ashurbanipal, by E. F. Weidner; the bas-reliefs of Ashurbanipal's Arabian wars, by D. Opitz; the Carian language, by F. Bork; problems of Eg. prehistory by Fr. v. Bissing; reports of excavations, etc. (including Tell Beit Mirsim, by W. F. Albright).

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Many important reviews, including Bauer on Grimme, Altsinaitisch. Buchstabeninschriften (Nov., col. 960); articles on Old Cretan, by A. v. Blumenthal (col. 785);

New Hyksos king, by W. Wreszinski (col. 1009); "Abraham's bosom," by M. Mieses (col. 1018).

Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, xi, 3-4. Notes of Palestinian prehistory, by R. Neuville; notes on the Ghor, by A. Mallon; contributions to the historical geography of the Negeb, by A. Alt; the mountain sanctuaries in Petra and its environs, by Ditlef Nielsen; Arabic inscriptions of Gaza, by L. A. Mayer; 'Attarah and Nasbeh in the Middle Ages, by F.-M. Abel, etc.

The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, i, 2. Jerusalem, 1931. A rock-cut tomb at Nazareth; a hoard of Byzantine coins; tetradrachms of the Second Revolt; concise bibliography of excavations in Palestine, etc.

Al-Mashrik, September. Antioch as a tourist centre, by P. Lammens; etc. October: the American excavations at Beisan, by P. Marmardji; Dilebta, by P. Raphael, etc. November: the American excavations at Beisan, by P. Marmardji.

La Revue de l'Académie Arabe: Damascus.

Sixième Rapport sur les Travaux de l'Académie Arabe.

Davar.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ

Bible Lands, October. Notes on the ethical system of Judaism, by Canon Danby.

From Mr. Pilcher: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Isräliten.* (Leipzig, 1837).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Le Strange *Palestine Under the Moslems* (1890).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath* already in the Library; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identification and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of———— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

EXCAVATIONS AT SAMARIA, 1931.

By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A. F.S.A.

Harvard University, the Palestine Exploration Fund, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem are associated together as partners in the present Samaria Expedition and the British Academy has made a munificent donation from the Schweich Fund on behalf of the two British Institutions.

The chief credit for the promotion of the expedition must be given to Professor Lake, who not only raised the bulk of the funds but was present for the greater part of the first campaign and, in particular, undertook the main share of the photographic work. The management and supervision of the field work was divided between the writer as Field Director, Dr. E. L. Sukenik as Assistant Field Director, Miss K. M. Kenyon, Mr. A. G. Buchanan and Dr. C. Chapman. Mr. Buchanan acted as Surveyor to the expedition and Mr. J. Pinkerfeld as Architect. Mrs. Robert New undertook the epigraphic work and helped Professor Lake with the photography. Mrs. Crowfoot looked after the registration of objects and all that this involves, besides managing the camp: she was assisted by Miss Ann Fuller and Miss Muriel Bentwich who was appointed to a Robert Mond studentship as artist. The Rev. N. B. Wright studied the many Rhodian jar handles and the coins. Mr. N. Reiss worked as draughtsman during the last fortnight, and the field staff was strengthened by the arrival of Professor Blake in the latter half of June. We had six Egyptian foremen, three of whom had worked with Professor Reisner on the early expeditions and a local force of workers, men and women, which never exceeded 250 in number, though we could easily have engaged twice as many if we had wanted them. The first party moved into camp on the 28th March, and excavation was started on the 1st April: the work continued until the beginning of July, the last of our party leaving Sebustiyah on the 10th of that month.

I—.INTRODUCTORY.[1]

It is more than twenty years since Professor Reisner closed his splendid work at Samaria. Most of the areas which were excavated he was obliged to fill in again, but three sites of especial interest, the Augusteum built by Herod on the summit, the Basilica near the threshing floor, and the west gate, were bought outright and left open. All three have suffered grievously in the interim, partly from weather but still more from the depredations of the people whose hunger for building stones is quite insatiable. The remains at Samaria, in fact, would be quite unintelligible if it were not for the admirably full reports issued by Lyon, Reisner and Fisher.

After repeated visits to the site it seemed best to Dr. Sukenik and myself to start work in five different spots. Two of these were close to the two areas where the greatest of Reisner's discoveries were made, the areas called by him the *Summit* and the *Lower Terrace*: the other three were chosen with the view of opening up new ground. The owners of the fields were approached, and, thanks to the good offices of the District Officers, Mr. Bailey and Mr. Yazgi, it was agreed by both parties that the Mayor of Nablus, Suliman Bey Tukan, should be invited to act as arbitrator. Suliman Bey kindly consented to do so and satisfactory terms for the leases, for compensation for crops and for trees, were finally settled on the 30th March.

The five fields which we leased are designated in the following note by the initial letter of the principal word in the Arabic name by which they are known to the villagers. They are :—

1. Q. = El-Qa'adeh. This name, which is given to a series of fields on the summit of the old acropolis, is the same as that given to a corresponding portion of the site at Gezer. The section taken by us lay alongside the great dump of our predecessors which stretches across the summit from north to south, dividing the west end which they dug from the rest. It was on the west side of the dump that they uncovered the foundations of Herod's Augusteum

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[1] For the conclusions presented in Sections II.-V. the writer is solely responsible, but they were reached only after repeated discussions in Samaria with Dr. Sukenik and both in Samaria and in England with Miss Kenyon and Mr. Buchanan, to all three of whom he is deeply indebted. For help in the paragraphs dealing with the Church in Section V. he is under an equally heavy debt to Mr. Pinkerfeld.

and a part of the royal palaces of the Israelite kings, Omri, Ahab, and their successors.

2. D. = Qatāin el-Deir. This name means the Fields of the Monastery, and it covers a series of fields on the south slope of the acropolis which continue the line of Reisner's *Lower Terrace*. There were no certain traces of a monastery here before we began to dig, but in the course of work we discovered a church in the middle of the present Christian cemetery besides other monastic buildings, and it is of great interest to find a memory of this foundation surviving in the present field name. The section of D which we have excavated lies immediately south of our fields in Q.

3. B. = H̱ākūrat el-Baidar. This name, the Garden of the Threshing Floor, is given to one or two gardens south-west of the village threshing floor which occupies the area identified by our predecessors as the Roman forum. The garden taken by us lay due south of the basilica, but separated from it by a second garden.

4. T. = Karam el-Tūteh. This name, the Orchard of the Mulberry, is given to a level field on a lower terrace due north of the palace area which our predecessors dug : it is marked on their map as *camp* 3. The field was sown this year to barley and wheat, and contained a few ancient olive trees, but no mulberries.

5. S. = Karam el-Sheikh. This, the Orchard of the Sheikh, is a low lying depression to the north of the threshing floor. It is identified as a Hippodrome on old maps. The northern part of the area which we leased belongs to the present Mukhtār of the village, Kāmel ʿAbd el-Hādi, and the name is probably derived from one of his ancestors who owned the whole of it.

The excavation of four out of the five fields just mentioned was completed according to plan, but on Q we did not finish as much as we hoped. Work was slowed down here by two unexpected circumstances : in the first place, the dump of the previous expedition had spread over the east corridor of the Augusteum and we were obliged to cut a large slice off this dump to recover the plan of the corridor. In the second place we were misled by the present contour of the ground : what is now the northern edge of the summit lies about 25 metres north of the original edge in the Israelite period, and the rock at this end was therefore much lower down that we anticipated, and the accumulation of debris to be moved correspondingly heavier. Reisner did not carry his excavation up to the edge of the summit anywhere, and so we had no data to work upon, except the modern contour which was deceptive.

In addition to our work on these five fields, we excavated a few tombs, one small group north of the city, a second on the slopes above S., and a third small group to the east of the village.

II. The Israelite Period.

The most important remains of the Israelite period which we found are the section of the city wall uncovered in B. and the remains of the royal palaces uncovered in Q. and D. (See Plate I.).

The former of them was described and illustrated in the July number of the *Quarterly Statement* at sufficient length, and we have only to add that the Department of Antiquities has decided, to our great satisfaction, to expropriate the area so that this wall may be left permanently on view. In the early summer, while the threshing season was in full force, it was impossible to make the excavations which are necessary before we attempt to reconstruct the plan of the city gate, if gate it is, but in the autumn, when threshing is over, we hope to return to the attack.

The chief remains of the royal palaces which were discovered by Reisner consisted of two detached groups of building and a tank which he identified with the *Pool of Samaria,* the whole being enclosed by a great wall of which he found traces on three sides of the west end of the summit. A series of chambers in groups of three, a larger one flanked by two small ones, abutted on the outer face of this wall along its whole length, but very little of the original masonry was found anywhere, and the greater part of Fisher's plan is based on the rock-cut trenches in which the foundations of the walls were laid. Our finds include what we take to be continuations of the north and south enclosure walls : these finds were made in the middle of Q. b, the north section of Q., and at the north end of D. in sections Dd. and Df. The latter were the more extensive and to these we turn first.

Before we began work, the ground in D. sloped steadily from north to south at a gradient of 1 in 5 (9 m. in 45 m.). It ended in a sort of gulley which led down to the colonnaded street, the surface wash being held up on the east by the ruins of the church in the

Christian cemetery and on the west by the dumps of our predecessors. Excavation showed that this slope concealed a succession of terraces and scarps running east and west, parallel to the dividing line between Q. and D. : both terraces and scarps were partly artificial, partly natural. The south wall of the palace complex stood on the outer edge of the top terrace which was 8 m. south of Q., and the rock was scarped perpendicularly below it. The line of the wall here was cleared for a distance of 40 m. east of the most easterly point cleared by Reisner.

The surface of the rock was dressed to receive the stones all along this line, but of the masonry very little was found in position, that little however being highly characteristic (see illustrations 2 and 3). The stones in the bottom course are bossed with a wide margin on the upper edge like the stones in the city wall : the stones in the upper courses are smoothly dressed like the stones in the Israelite walls under the Augusteum, and the jointing is admirable. The coursing is not continuous like that in the city wall, and very small patch stones are used to fill up gaps as in Gothic masonry : the patch work in this wall is a triumph of meticulosity, for the smaller of the two squared patch stones measures only 35 mm. by 45. Dr. Fisher noted an example of similar patch work, and it seems to be as characteristic a feature of the fine ashlar in Samaria as the peculiar drafting is of the bossed work.

There was a row of rooms on the terrace 5 m. below, like the rooms which Reisner found abutting on the walls further west, but all the rock trenches which had been cut to carry the foundation walls of these rooms were empty except one, in which the remains of two courses were left : the stones in these courses were naturally unbossed and very loosely fitted together. Six foundation trenches in all were found in this stretch, the four which belonged to the three central rooms were about a metre deeper than the others and there were cuttings on the terrace which suggested that these three rooms formed a bastion projecting in front of the rest to command the gulley below. Below this terrace there was a second drop, also about 5 m. deep, then a third terrace, and then a third scarp, only about a metre deep, against which the city wall was probably built in Israelite times, though the existing remains belong to a later period.

On the south face of the palace complex we were able to join our work directly to our predecessors' : on the north face it was impossible because their work was not carried so far east at this end and because there is the dump also between us. Here too, however, we found traces of a boundary wall constructed on a similar plan. Underneath the subterranean corridor which led to stairs of the Herodian temple, there was a series of walls which appear to be the south and three cross walls of two small rooms like those abutting on the south and west walls (see Plate III. 4.) The cross walls were broken off close to the brink of a steep natural declivity, the north edge of the original summit, and a doubtful cutting in the rock was the only trace of the outer wall. Further to the east there were rock cuttings of the usual Israelite type, large stones like those which they used, and deposits of black debris in the middle of blocks of earlier yellow fillings like that which Reisner found on the Israelite level : the pillars of black debris clearly mark the places of vanished walls. The line of the level of occupation here was indicated by an offset on one of the walls and a break in the character of the filling, but this level, which was only a few centimetres below the floor of the subterranean corridor floor, was unfortunately also the level of occupation down to the Hellenistic period, and both Hellenistic and Israelite objects were found in the various fillings below it. It appears, therefore, that in this area we must be prepared to find many later intrusions in the Israelite level.

The other Israelite remains in the north strip of Q. were tantalisingly fragmentary. About 16 m. south of the line of the north boundary wall there was a long scarp running east-west, and in front of it, in the rock trench, remains of three courses of typical Israelite masonry, the stones finely jointed and only slightly bossed: other scarps run north at right angles to this line, and there was evidently a building here which abutted on the inside of the north palace wall.

In Q.a, further south, the rock rises to a level which averages some five metres higher than that on which the Israelite remains in Q.b stand, and in this strip of the central area we did not find any trace of early building. There were signs, on the other hand, of extensive quarrying and there were some very large cisterns. The most spectacular of these was excavated along a line of natural fissure : a flight of 30 steps, partly hewn in the rock, partly built on it, led down to a chamber 15 m. long by 9 high by 2.5 wide, and a second chamber, 20 by 6 by 3, opened into this from the east.

Another large cistern, also apparently following a line of natural fissure, lay east of the passage which led into the first. A third, 7 by 4 by 3, lay to the north west and was connected with a stepped vat. A fourth, 15 by 4 by 3, lay further north, and there was a fifth under the corridor to the south west which we were unable to examine. All the cisterns which we entered had been in use down to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. at least and the objects found in them were of late date, but the shafts or steps leading to them showed evidence of repeated reconstructions necessitated by changes in the level of occupation, and the reservoirs below were no doubt excavated in early days. Their presence is probably sufficient reason to explain the absence of old buildings in this area. The number of them is striking, but this section is not peculiar in this respect. Reisner found several in the areas which he excavated and we found several in every field except S. There is no natural spring close to Samaria and that probably is why this dominating site was not occupied before the time of Omri.

The ordinary red and brown burnished ware of the period was found in all our sections, and from the tomb areas north and east of the city scores of basketfuls of Israelite potsherds were collected. One vessel of an entirely new type came from the tombs, a large oval foot-bath of coarse red burnished ware : the bottom was flat, the walls straight, the rim slightly incurved ; it had four rudimentary ledge-handles on the inside, and in the middle was a flat foot-rest raised on two pillars exactly like the rest used by shoe-blacks. One complete vessel of this type and fragments of two or three others were found in the tombs, and, before we left Samaria, Mrs. Crowfoot and Mr. Wright when visiting a modern native pottery at Singil, some 20 miles away, had the good fortune to find similar earthenware foot-baths there : the modern Singil foot-baths are rather smaller, they are circular, the sides are flared and the foot-rest is supported half on the rim and half on a central pillar, but their relation to our new Samaria type is obvious. Further, the Singil pots are made specially for ritual washings and the Samaria examples all came from tombs which suggests that they too were used for ritual ablutions : in function as well as in form the Singil and Samaria pots may be connected genetically.

Fragments of a very fine fabric of pottery were found in the same tomb and also on Q. : these fragments came mainly from small circular bowls with flat bottoms and straight sides, and the bottoms are decorated on the outside with concentric circles : the paste is fine and well baked and the fragments very thin, contrasting in every respect with the coarse ware found with them. Megiddo is, so far as we know, the only other site on which this ware has been found.

Other small finds included a great quantity of animal figurines and a few human ones, mostly from the tombs but also from Q. and T. ; two inscribed weights from Q. ; and several circular cosmetic saucers of stone like those found at Gezer and elsewhere—these also came mostly from the tombs, but one each was found on B. and D.

It will be seen that the excavations at Samaria promise a flood of light on the period of the Israelite kingdom. The royal palaces are unique in Palestine : at the west end the court measures more than 125 m. from north to south ; from east to west it was larger, but though we have traced it 40 metres further east than our predecessors, we have not yet reached the eastern boundary. These dimensions show that the palaces of Omri and Ahab were conceived on the same scale as the palaces of the great kings of Assyria. The masonry is far the finest of the period which has been found in Palestine, and it is only at Megiddo that there is any work at all comparable with it. The walls in question at Megiddo are almost certainly connected with Solomon and through Solomon with Tyre : the connections of Samaria with Sidon and Damascus are hardly less famous than those of Solomon with Tyre. We have a double reason therefore for deriving this style of architecture and building from Damascus and the cities of Phœnicia.

The major problems which we shall have to tackle in the next campaign are obvious. In the first place we shall have to find out about the supposed gate in B. Secondly, we must try to find the line of the wall round the acropolis on the north side of the summit : we found no trace of it in T. this season and we propose to look for it next on the north slope immediately below Q.b. Thirdly, we shall have to follow the south wall of the palace enclosure in D. further east until we reach the south-east corner from which we shall naturally turn north.

III.—The Hellenistic Period.

From the time of its capture by Sargon II. about 722 to the coming of Alexander the Great nearly 400 years later, Samaria, so far as we know, never ceased to be an important city, and our predecessors attributed various walls and classes of objects to the centuries in question. These walls have not the distinguishing characters of Israelite work and in the areas dug by us we were unable to satisfy ourselves that any of our post-Israelite walls were certainly earlier than the Hellenistic period. As we have already seen, the Hellenistic level of occupation in Q. was approximately the same as the Israelite level, this part of Samaria was inhabited continuously down to the time of its destruction by Hyrcanus at the end of the 2nd century B.C. and, as is regularly the case, the later generations pulled down and re-used their predecessors' buildings so completely that it is impossible to identify the earlier work. At the close of this period conditions changed : Hyrcanus destroyed the place utterly as Josephus tells us, and it was deserted for some years : the new town which rose up after the Hellenistic period was built on the top of the debris which had accumulated during these years, the level of occupation was raised proportionately, and the bulk of what lies below the new foundations is easily recognisable as the work of the last builders before the desertion.

In Q.b, north of the north boundary of the Israelite palace, we found a continuation of the massive fort wall which Reisner found further west. (Plate III. 5.) Reisner attributed this wall to the Babylonio-Greek period, but in our section it cannot be earlier than the Hellenistic period. The Israelite wall, as we saw, broke off abruptly on the brink of a rocky declivity, and the fort wall, which was about 4 metres thick, was built up from the foot of this declivity. The space between the rock and the wall served the builders as a constructional ditch : from the horizontal lines of stratification in the filling of this space, which was 8.9 m. deep, it was plain that it had been filled in as the wall was built course by course, and as it contained a great deal of Hellenistic pottery and only a single fragment of black-glazed ware and a few Israelite sherds, it was obvious that the wall was Hellenistic.

The line of this wall was traced by us for 28 metres from west to east, and at the north-east corner of our strip the constructional ditch used by its builders cut transversely across the lines of two earlier walls. Except for a few large stones both these walls had disappeared, but their place was indicated by two blocks of black filling on either side of a broader block of yellow filling, the sharp top of which showed the original floor level. These walls are connected with others, some 16 metres further south, which were built above the Israelite E.-W. scarp at this point, and the floor level here, which was 10-20 cm. above the Israelite floor level, crossed the line of the destroyed Israelite walls which had stood in the trench below the scarp. In the yellow filling under the floor at the north-east corner we found fragments of Rhodian ware, and under the floor level further south an early Hellenistic sandstone base, and from these finds we conclude that the transverse walls which were destroyed by the builders of the fort wall also belonged probably to the Hellenistic period.

Further south in the cistern area in Q.a there are some walls on the rock which may belong to the Hellenistic period and there is a band of sticky chocolate-coloured soil some 30 cm. thick which may mark the Hellenistic level of occupation at this point ; the evidence of the objects found under this band only permits us to say that it is pre-Herodian, it might be Gabinian or it might belong to the second Hellenistic period, which is represented by the fort wall.

In D. there is no zone of debris like that in Q. separating the Hellenistic work from later work, and many walls of the Roman and the Christian periods are carried down to the rock here, but there are some massive fragments on the spurs below the Israelite wall, which are probably Hellenistic. To this period also we are now disposed to attribute the "cyclopean" patch, which was described in the previous report. Dr. Albright has recently discovered at Beth-Zur an intrusive patch of the same megalithic type in an earlier bronze age wall which he on general grounds assigns to the Hellenistic period.

In our other fields we found no constructions which we could identify as Hellenistic with any confidence, though we made a number of small finds of the period everywhere. In T. we found an admirably carved inscription recording a dedication to Sarapis and Isis ; on epigraphic grounds the inscription may be assigned to the 3rd century B.C., it was found on the rock under some Roman constructions and the find spot gives no clue to the position of the shrine. In B. a fine Ptolemaic scarab, with a rider on it, was found. Elsewhere coins, Rhodian jar handles, black glazed ware, red ware of the *sigillata* type and pale green faience were the most certain relics of this period. Reisner found about a thousand Rhodian jar handles, we have found over two hundred already ; these numbers show what a prosperous place Samaria was and, when the inscriptions have been studied further, they may indicate more precisely when it was most prosperous. The commoner pottery of this period seems to have been either a local imitation of the foreign fabrics already mentioned, or a continuation of the old Israelite fabrics.

IV.—The Roman Period.

When we pass from the Hellenistic to the Roman age we pass comparatively from darkness into daylight. Roman constructions, many of them readily identifiable, were found in all our fields, and except in B. and D. there was little trace of any subsequent work, indeed, in many places Roman buildings still rise above the surface. The extent of the remains shows what a great place Samaria-Sebaste was in the first three or four centuries of our era, but the destruction none the less has been lamentably systematic. Our predecessors found practically nothing above the foundations on the site of the temple of Augustus, and even the ground plan of this temple cannot be reconstructed with certainty ; our experience was no better on the site of another great temple which we discovered in T. Much was pulled down probably in mediæval days when the Crusaders built the magnificent cathedral of S. John the Baptist, but more perhaps in recent days to build houses in Sebustiyah and Nablus. The passion of the people for building stones must be seen to be believed, though, to judge from other sites, they may not be worse here than elsewhere. In three fields we found the remains of lime-kilns which tell their own sad tale.

El-Qa‘deh.

According to Josephus Samaria was restored by Pompey and rebuilt by Gabinius, after whom it was, Cedrenus says,[1] also renamed. To Gabinius therefore we may attribute a great patch in Q.b on the north side of the Hellenistic fort wall at a point where it had been breached down to the rock. (Plate iv, 6.) Behind this patch the level of occupation was raised about 2.5 m. above the previous floor level and the first house that was built on the new level had a much solider wall on the north side than elsewhere, but only a fragmentary plan of the foundations of this house can be recovered, and on the west these were reconstructed a few years later, when the Augusteum was built. A new vaulted cistern in the middle of the Hyrcanian debris (Q.b) and part of the new connections with four of the rock-cut cisterns further south (Q.a) may date from the same period.

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[1] Quoted by Jones in *J.R.S.*, 1931, p. 79.

Herod's Augusteum and large parts of the temple court in front and of a subterranean corridor to the N.W. were cleared by our predecessors. The corresponding corridor to the N.E. ran under the dump along the west side of Q.a and Q.b. (Plate iv, 7.) We followed the line of this corridor in our field and found that it originally reached beyond the present edge of the summit. The floor of the corridor was about 4.5 m. below the floor of the temple court and only a few centimetres above the Israelite-Hellenistic level of occupation, and its construction completely changed the north contour of the summit much in the same way as the Herodian substructures changed the southern end of the temple hill at Jerusalem. Here in Samaria the Israelite constructions, which were described above, mark the natural north edge of the summit : this edge was pushed further north, first, some six metres when the fort was built, and, secondly, over twenty metres more by the Herodian corridor. The two corridors were evidently built to create a tremendously extended platform and their function was on a smaller scale like that of the galleries under the temple courts at Baalbek and Jerash. We hope to learn more about them when we excavate the north slope immediately below Q.

Both corridors were completely remodelled at some time or other. At first a row of pillars ran down the middle carrying a line of double arches : subsequently the corridor was narrowed by the construction of walls inside the original walls, the floor was raised above the bases of the central pillars, and a single vault was thrown across the whole span. In four respects our corridor differs from that described by Fisher : in plan it runs parallel to the west corridor not splayed as he suggests, the masonry does not conform nearly so regularly to the Herodian norm, the Herodian roof was laid on a succession of arches 2 m. apart—not on a continuous vault, and the inner secondary wall was not quite parallel to the first. We found no evidence to date the reconstruction which Fisher assigns to the Severan age. After the reconstruction the corridor was converted to some industrial purpose which we could not identify : the floor was raised again and a long section of the east half was divided into a series of troughs separated by low transverse steps ; both troughs and partitions were cemented and the edges curved, and five large pots of sharply ribbed ware were found sunk at intervals on the cement ; the partitions between the troughs contained several voussoirs which suggest that the gallery had already collapsed : two vats further north and two channels running into the corridor from under the house walls further east probably belong to the same installation.

East of the corridor the upper strata were filled with an almost continuous conglomeration of foundations belonging to a succession of houses and the subterranean cisterns and vats which served them. The ground floors of successive buildings seem to have been on much the same level, those to the north in Q.b being rather lower than those in Q.a even when they were certainly contemporary. It will be convenient to reverse the usual order and begin with the latest of these.

The principal " room " in the latest house was a court surrounded by walks paved with mosaics which were decorated with narrow black stripes on a white ground. The north passage opened on a room with a more elaborate floor which had a broad border with a double spiral in black and a central field once filled with minute *tessellae* measuring about one millimetre square : the cubes in the border were also small, being less than a centimetre square on the average. A potsherd with a rouletted pattern, which may be dated about 300 A.D., was found under the mosaics and the house cannot therefore be earlier than the 4th century which may also be the date of the industrial installation in the corridor. Quantities of stucco fixed on tiles and stamped with a geometrical repeating pattern came from the superstructure of the house, but there was not a single course left above ground level. North of the room with the spiral mosaic there was a room with a plastered floor connected with a stepped vat which had been remodelled at least four times, and to the east a passage paved with mosaics which were found tilted on end : east of this passage there was a large tiled room a few centimetres lower than the passages round the court but part of the same house. The passage leading into the great cistern, which was described in Section II., opened on the east side of the court : the upper part of this passage, which may be contemporary with our house, was roofed with large flat slabs of stone leant against each other like some found by Reisner : a lower section was vaulted in the same style as the cistern we have assigned to the Gabinian period.

Immediately under the mosaics on the west side of the court there was a door sill which must have belonged to a house on approximately the same plan, and there was a vat beside the passage leading into the cistern which may have belonged to the same house, as it was filled in and covered with paving stones when the mosaic house was in use.

Under the tiled room there were the walls of a mysterious circular construction surrounded on all sides by very massive walls which cut through an earlier series of walls. (Plate v, 8.) The circular building cannot have been a granary as neither walls nor bottom were cemented, and we are disposed to regard it as a small military tower with a blockhouse attached, erected perhaps during one of the disturbed periods in the 3rd century. The surrounding walls were mainly built of re-used stones, most of them squared, drafted and plastered : the painting on the plaster was so bright that they had evidently come from some building which had been recently decorated, and this building we may identify with a series of long rooms running north to south in Q.b. The walls forming these rooms were 1.1 m. broad and the foundations were deep : the vaulted cistern which we have ascribed to the Gabinian restoration was no longer in use, the new foundation wall running down the middle of it, partly through the vault and partly under it, but we found no cross walls, and it is possible that the broad "Gabinian" wall at the north end was still in use. The plaster on the stones was decorated in the architectural style with representations of cornices with egg and dart mouldings and palmette friezes and painted shadows from the projecting members, the chief colours being buff and purple. A date in the latter half of the 2nd century A.D. would suit the context.

The plan of these walls is complicated, but the conditions are precisely what might be expected in an area which was occupied continuously as a residential quarter for some four centuries or so, and the medley of building may become more intelligible after another season's work. There was no evidence of building later than the mosaic house but there were traces of an old series of field walls, suggesting that it was cultivated in quite early days.

Kxram el-Tūteh.

This field is one of the few level expenses in Samaria, but it is of comparatively recent origin and it coincides with the *temenos* of a large Roman temple. Originally there was a flat spur of rock running north across the middle of the area with a precipitous drop on the west and a less steep fall to the north-east. The rock was heavily quarried in early days and there were some disconnected fragments of early walling close to the rock, but the later Roman constructions were so extensive that we could not formulate any conclusions about the pre-Roman history of the field.

The Roman buildings consist of a temple in the west half of the area, a rectangular altar or basis with a complex building in three sections N.E. of the temple, an earlier building north and west of this, and a circular construction, perhaps also an altar, to the south-east. A stylobate ran round the *temenos* and on the south side of it five pulvinated dies of a late type, two of them still in position, were discovered. Along the south side there was a road leading to the west gate between the summit and the *temenos* on the line of an existing camel track. A fragmentary inscription which was found near the surface of the middle of the field suggested to us that the precinct was dedicated to Kore (Persephone) whose rape is represented on the 3rd century coins of Colonia Sebaste : a second inscription in honour of the same goddess was found in S. and a third inscription which was found at Nablus-Neapolis some time ago attests the popularity of her cult in this district[1] : it is natural enough therefore that the second great temple in Samaria-Sebaste should be sacred to her.

Of the temple nothing but the substructure remains. This is a composite building, the part which may be identified with the cella is a great rubble core rising to within a few centimetres of the surface and measuring some 23 by 10.5 metres : this core was surrounded by what we took to be the substructure of a peristyle measuring 3 metres across, but not a scrap even of the paving of either remains. Abutting against the east end of this there is another mass of masonry which measures 8 m. from east to west and spans the whole width of the east walk of the peristyle. The masonry of the latter structure is different from that of the cella-peristyle and it is set out on a slightly different axis, but the difference in axis is so small that there would have been no difficulty in combining the two parts, the east part being the foundation of a portico or a flight of stairs to the other: here, too, not a stone of the superstructure remains. The foundations of both parts are carried down to the rock everywhere; on the S. this was no great matter as the rock was less than a metre below the top course remaining, but on the W. where the building stood above an old quarry this entailed 13 courses of masonry, each about 50 cm. high. These courses were composed almost entirely of drafted stones, many of them covered with plaster, and the filling under the stylobate behind this facing was a mass of carved architectural detail. The architectural fragments fall into two groups: the first included 16 crenellated blocks cut in soft limestone and brightly painted in different monochrome shades of red and yellow and green, and some cornice mouldings with "Egyptian" cavetto and torus profiles of the same soft stone. The second group consisted of blocks cut from a hard grey limestone like that used for columns at Samaria: it included five large Ionic caps originally finished off with stucco, several bases, column drums, cornice blocks, and two curious reliefs. The reliefs represented omphalos-like cones wreathed with olive leaves and surmounted with six-pointed stars (see Plate vii, 10), and they remind the writer of the upper half—the part above the brim—of the helmet which is represented on some of the coins of Herod: one asks whether they may not have come from a building decorated with stone representations of trophies like those which infuriated the Jews in Jerusalem[1]? The material for the substructure of our temple was collected probably from various sources: one of the buildings despoiled may have been a propylæa leading to the Herodian Augusteum: another seems to have been in the mixed style of the "Tomb of Absalom." The building of our temple we assign to the 3rd century A.D. because we found ribbed potsherds which cannot be earlier than the preceding century in a sealed cistern under the middle of the stereobate. Another cistern on the south side which was not sealed by the temple building contained an extraordinarily homogeneous collection of ribbed ware, including several whole pots, which may be assigned to the 3rd or 4th century—the period presumably when the temple was most frequented.

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[1] See S. A. Cook, *Schweich Lectures for* 1925, p. 188.

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[1] Josephus, *Antiq.* xv, viii.

The building which abutted on the east end of the main block contained neither drafted stones nor carved fragments, and it was built, therefore, probably when none were available. That this was before rather than after the main block seems indicated by the earlier potsherds which were found in an excavation at the point of junction of the two, which may have been a natural cave or an unfinished cistern.

In the walls N.E. of the temple the same differences of axis and masonry were observed. On the same axis as the earlier, eastern, portion of the main building and of the same type of masonry is a long wall which runs from the centre of the field to the N. with a wall striking it at right angles near the boundary. These walls are not carried down to the rock, but offsets on them and a distinct line in the undisturbed debris near suggest that the level of occupation when they were built was about a metre below that of the later group. The later group consists of an oblong altar or basis and adjoining it a rectangular building divided into three parts, a room spanning the whole width from N. to S., a small room in the N.E. corner and a solid mass of masonry in the S.E. : all the walls in this complex, which was on the same axis as the temple proper, were carried down to rock and were full of carved architectural stones. The circular altar (?) to the S.E., on the other hand contained no carved detail.

The nett results in this field may seem disappointing, but they have added something to our picture of Roman Sebaste. If our interpretation of the remains is correct, there was a temple here of considerable size in the 1st century perhaps, dedicated probably like its successor to Kore-Persephone. It was almost entirely rebuilt, probably in the 3rd century, when perhaps a radical reconstruction of the old temple on the summit placed a great deal of old material at the disposal of the builders which enabled them to lay the astounding foundations which are all that has survived to this day. In the eastern provinces as in the west there were very great builders in the 3rd and 4th centuries of our era.

Karam el-Sheikh.

Karam el-Sheikh is a broad hollow some 230 m. long, lying north of the forum-threshing floor. It is about 100 m. below the level of the highest point on the summit, but it was within the Roman city, and the line of the town wall is the north boundary of the field : on the other three sides it is surrounded by rather steep slopes. A number of columns are still showing above ground in the hollow, and from their disposition they have been supposed to form part of a hippodrome with seats on the sloping hill-sides. The results of our investigations do not support this hypothesis.

The north end of the field which we leased is about a third of the whole, and during the last season the north colonnade and part of the west colonnade were cleared, various trenches and two deep shafts were dug in the centre and against the city wall at the north end, and some excavations made on the west slope.

The north colonnade was 57.2 m. long, that is, about 200 Roman feet, and it contained originally 20 columns of which eight are still standing. The columns stood on a stylobate most of which has now disappeared, and there was an enclosure wall 5.3 m. from the stylobate all round the structure : this wall also has disappeared almost completely. Alongside the wall there was a well-constructed gutter to carry off the water which poured down from the higher ground above. At the N.E. corner a small annex, 8.4 m. by 4, abutted on the outer wall : this annex was built of re-used material and reminded us of the late building N.E. of the temple in T. : like the east half of that building, it consisted of a room on the north and a solid platform of masonry on the south. We could not determine certainly whether the area between the colonnade and the outer wall was paved : if it was paved, the paving stones were removed very early, for no trace of them was found under some mosaics of the 5th or 6th century which were laid at the east end of the colonnade : the enclosure wall had also been demolished here before this time.

In the central arena, which was trenched in various places, several disconnected fragments of paving were found about a metre below the present surface, also a long drainage gutter, and a large altar erected to the Lady Kore by a high-priest named *Kalpournianos Gaianou*. The inscription on the altar was ill-cut and ill-spelt, and can hardly be earlier than the 3rd century A.D. The altar and the pavement were approximately on the same level as the surrounding colonnades, and belong to the period when they were in regular use. Several coins of the 3rd and 4th centuries are the only closely dated objects found here.

Excavations on the west hill-side, which brought to light a number of Israelite tombs and a Roman *columbarium*, showed that there never were any seats here such as was once imagined, and the absence of these seats, the enclosure walls round the colonnade, and the traces of paving in the central arena, all suggest that this field was not a hippodrome, but a palæstra.

This suggestion was strengthened by discoveries which were made in the deeper excavations. In the debris under the arena, at a depth between one and five metres, we found a quantity of Roman pottery and many fragments of painted plaster, mostly plain yellow or marbled. Light was thrown on the latter by a find made under the west colonnade about 50 m. south of the N.W. corner near the southern limit of our area. Here we found exactly under the line of the outer wall of the colonnade the west wall of a long plastered room, the plaster being still preserved about 1.6 m. high. (Plate v, 9.) This wall was cleared for a length of 13 m., and continues to the south beyond our boundary; a cross wall at the north end was mostly broken, but seems to mark the north end of this room, and the foundations of it continued a little further into the arena than the foundations of the colonnade. The plaster was painted in a series of large panels with a marbled dado below them. Red and yellow were the predominating colours and the plaster was exactly like the fragments we had found earlier in the arena. A number of rude graffiti were scored on the wall, pictures of athletes, gladiators and animals, and inscriptions in different hands containing the names *Roufos*, *Preimos*, *Glaphyros* and *Narkissos*, and there was one rough inscription in paint to a certain *Pomponios Roufos hieroktistes*. The drawings and the inscriptions seem to confirm the conjecture that the field was the site of an ancient palæstra, and the style of the painting and the names suggest that it may be as early as the Augustan period; it may, in fact, be a palæstra built for the motley veterans whom Herod settled in Samaria.

We did not determine what the level of the central arena was at the time when the plastered room was in use, but the whole of the central hollow was much lower at one time than we first imagined. In the middle and also at the north end against the wall our shafts were sunk 8 metres deep without reaching rock, and down to the bottom of these pits we continued to find pottery, both Israelite and Hellenistic. In the natural course of events quantities of earth and debris would be washed down the steep hill-sides S., E. and W. unless steps were taken to prevent it, and when the city wall was built across the open end to the north the rate of accumulation would tend to increase : the carefully built gutters round the later enclosure wall and in the centre may have been the result of bitter experience, specially designed to prevent the silting which had ruined the earlier arena on the level of the plastered room.

In the coming season we hope to dig further trenches in the southern area in order to find out at least the limits of the plastered room and the plan of the south end of the colonnade which is at present unknown.

Ḫākūrat el-Baidar and Qaṭāin el-Deir.

In both B. and D. later occupations have destroyed most of the remains of the Roman period and what is left is of minor interest.

In B. a single course of a house or public building, which ran parallel to the west wall of the basilica, was found crossing the line of the Israelite city wall ; it was admirably built and the foundations were the most solid we discovered anywhere, they may well go back to the time of the procurator Annius Rufus, whose name occurs on the basilica ; his period of office extended from the last years of Augustus to the first of Tiberius. Several of the cisterns here were either Roman or Hellenistic, as they broke through the Israelite line and underlay the later street.

In D. walls belonging to more than one scheme of defence were found on and in front of the old rock-cut spurs. Many Israelite stones were incorporated in these walls, and the potsherds in the mortar indicated that the walls date from various periods between the beginning of the 1st and the end of the 3rd century A.D.

Numerous fragments of painted plaster were also found here, especially in the upper strata ; they overlay much later deposits, and had evidently been washed down from buildings on the summit. The paintings fall into two classes ; in one the plaster was moulded and the principal bands of decoration were divided from the central panels by bevelled edges ; the bands were usually monochrome, dark green and red being the commonest colours, and the borders round the panels were filled with small patterns, such as spirals and chequers. The other fragments belong to what has been called the flower class (see Rostovtzeff, in *J.H.S.*, 1919, p. 144 f.) ; in some the whole surface was covered with a jazzy network of leaves and flowers, in others the leaves were more scattered, and there were figures among them, a dancing Silenus, for example.

The ruins of this period which we have uncovered at Samaria-Sebaste are the ruins of a Romanised pagan city. There is no trace of anything Samaritan about it, and the Samaritans at that time, as at present, were congregated chiefly, we imagine, near the holy mountain of Garizim, at Neapolis-Nablus. The Greek element in the population also may have been very weak, and this may be a reason for the comparative paucity of inscriptions. The few proper names we have found, such as Calpurnianus, Gaianus, Primus, Rufus, Pomponius, Glaphyrus, Narcissus, are the names of Romans or Latinized natives rather than Greeks. Moreover, although a theatre is doubtfully marked on the old maps, it seems to us quite uncertain that there ever was one in the place indicated. But there were three pagan temples—if, as we suppose, the basilica was a temple—a forum and a palæstra, which was no doubt useful for shows of various kinds ; there was also a great columned street, perhaps more than one, and the houses were decorated in the usual fashions of the times. The extraordinary solidity of the buildings and the smaller finds show further that it remained a very wealthy city down at least to the 4th century of our era. We know that it issued coins from the time of Domitian to the 3rd century, and a few of these have turned up in the course of our work, but we have found nothing to throw new light on the local government at this time.

V.—The Later Periods.

Qatain el-Deir (*D.*)

The Church of the First Invention of the Head of St. John the Baptist.

The shrine of St. John the Baptist in the middle of Sebaste is mentioned by a great many pilgrims from the fourth century downwards. A second shrine which was in the upper city and was also connected with St. John is mentioned less frequently. Three pilgrims, however, Joannes Phocas, who visited the Holy Land in 1185, Burchard of Mt. Sion, who wrote about 1280, and John Poloner, whose date is about 1421, have described the upper shrine in sufficient detail to enable us to identify it with the church which we discovered in D. This shrine belonged to a Greek monastery which was situated, according to Burchard and Poloner, on the brow of the hill where Herod's palace once stood, and it marked the site, according to Phocas, of the first Invention of St. John's Head.

Phocas' account runs as follows :—" The church of the monastery is domed (*τρουλλωτός*). On the left side of the altar is a little cell in the middle of which is a small circle (*ὀμφαλον*) of marble lying on (*ἐπί*) a very deep excavation in which the first Invention of the Forerunner's precious head adored by angels took place, the head having been buried on this spot by Herodias." Our church stands on the brow of the hill, the nave was domed, there was a small chapel on the left side of the altar, and beneath it is a crypt on the wall of which there is a painting of the Invention of the head of St. John with angels adoring it ; on the jamb of the door which leads down to the crypt there are pilgrims' crosses like those on the passage leading to the Chapel of St. Helena in the Holy Sepulchre, and we found graffiti made by Armenian and other pilgrims elsewhere in the church. The identification is therefore quite certain. We have before us the shell of the building which Phocas describes.

The interior of the church, which measures m 14.50 by m 12.90, and the greater part of the west wall, which contains the principal entrance, have now been completely cleared, and soundings have been made at the east end and on the north side ; along the south side and the south-west corner there are a great many recent graves which we have foreborne to disturb.

At the west end there is an narthex with a single opening in it which leads to the main door of the church. Except for this opening the walls of the narthex so far as we have cleared them are now solid, but at the time of Phocas' visit the narthex was probably an open portico with four piers on the west side and pointed cross vaults above them. On the floor there are still traces of a mosaic pavement with an imbricated pattern, and a large niche was excavated in the thickness of the wall north of the church door Beneath the floor two burial vaults were found. (Plate vi, 11.)

Inside the church the principal features in the twelfth century were the central dome, a large apse at the east end, and the chapel above the crypt of the Invention at the north-east corner. (Plate vi, 12.)

The dome was carried on four piers in each of which a granite column was embedded. The sanctuary was raised one step above the rest of the church and extended from the middle of the two eastern piers to the apse ; a low chancel screen separated it from the nave and there were columns on either side of the royal entrance ; the altar was built against the chord of the apse and there was a semicircular step in front of it ; there was no trace of any seats round the apse. The chancel screen was carried across the south aisle, but the area behind it was on the same level as the main body of the church and was therefore not part of the sanctuary ; a niche in the south wall with a cross on it suggests that it was used as a sacristy.

At the east end of the north aisle stood the small chapel of which Phocas speaks ; the floor of this chapel was raised two steps above the aisle and the chapel was roofed independently with a small dome on pendentives ; it stood immediately above the crypt of the Invention to which a flight of eight steps led down from the north aisle. The floor of the crypt is only a few centimetres above rock level and a grave containing a single burial was found excavated in the rock down the middle of the chamber. The crypt was roofed with a flat pointed cross vault, and the west wall which contains a niche was covered with painting. (Plate vii. 13.)

Miss Bentwich made a coloured study of this fresco and a photograph of her study was shown to M. Millet by Mr. Chapman, who writes to me as follows:—"The subject of the upper group is the beheading of St. John the Baptist who is wearing a camel's hair garment; the executioner is crowded almost too close to the victim, but this is not uncommon. The lower group is the discovery of the head of the saint (without his body). People are digging with spades ; in the centre [was] the head in an aureole or glow of shining light ; in the corners are saints looking down." Others have suggested that the figures in the corners, one of whom is a woman, may be portraits of the donors of the painting. On each side of the niche is the figure of an adoring angel. Some of the faces seem to have been wilfully destroyed but the colours are well preserved and brilliant.

To return to the upper part of the church, the internal walls were all plastered, as were the dome and piers, and covered with paintings of which very little remains ; at the north-west corner the subjects were a series of saints with scrolls beside them. Seats or stalls were apparently built round three sides of the nave between the piers. There is no evidence to show the character of the roof above the aisles, but eight pointed arches were thrown from the four central piers to the side walls and the roof above them was probably flat ; in the middle there was the dome above the nave and above the apse a semi-dome.

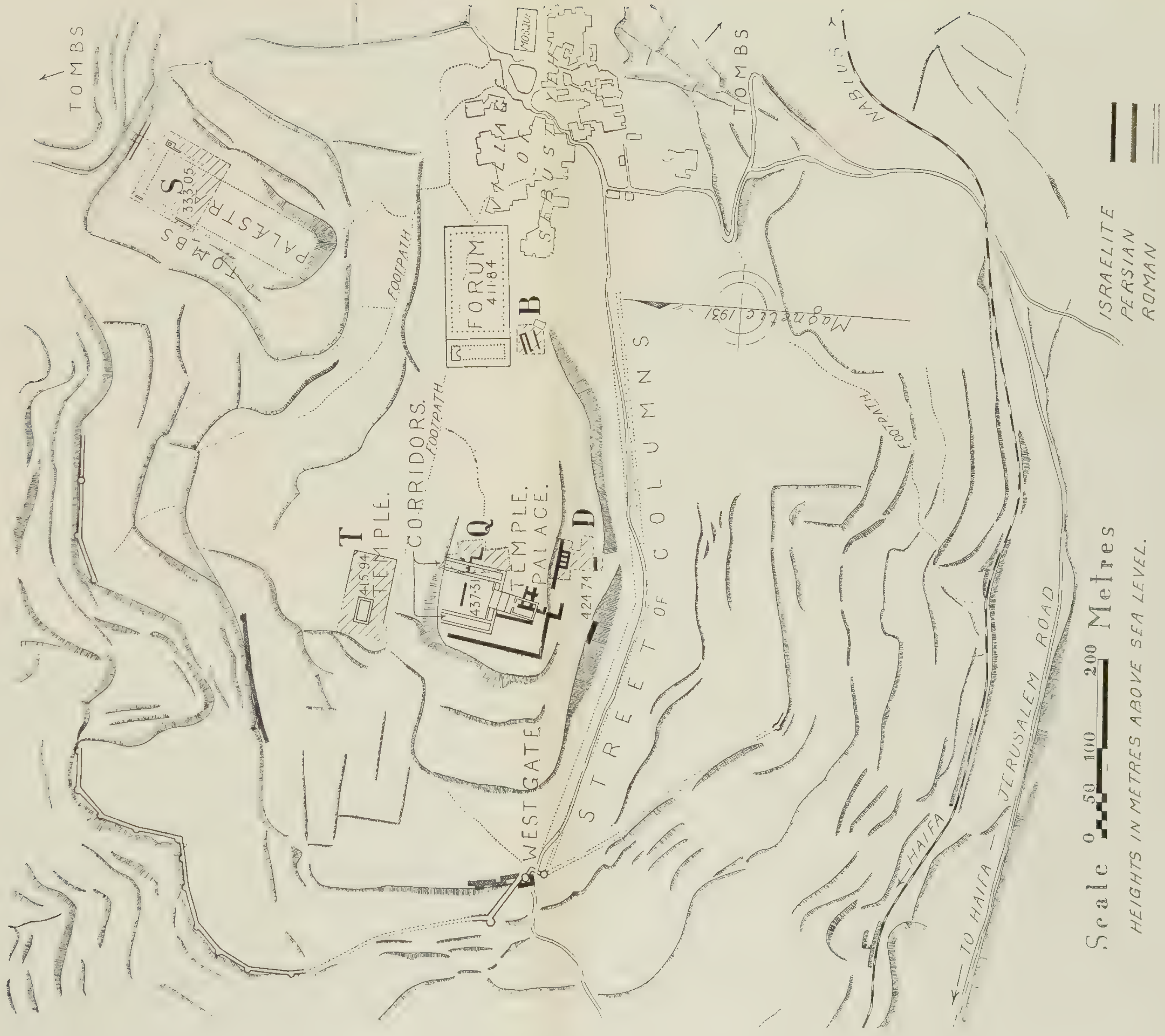
Such were the main features of the church which Phocas saw, and in his day, 1185 A.D., many of these features must have been comparatively new. There are a few stones, in the entrance to the narthex, for example, which are dressed with the diagonal tooling characteristic of Crusaders' work ; the mouldings round the drum of the dome, the pointed arches, and the vault above the chapel, belong to the same circle. But these features are additions made to what was in the main a much older building. The older building was restored in all probability only a few years before the visit of Phocas, about the time when the great Latin cathedral in the lower town was in building, and it seems reasonable to conjecture that the Orthodox Church which had been recently obliged to cede the guardianship of the major relics of St. John the Baptist to the Latins, now determined to make more of the lesser shrine which still remained in their own hands. They may have engaged for this purpose some of the very masons who had been employed on the Frankish cathedral. Before the Crusades both churches were probably in a ruinous state, the Latins seem to have rebuilt the greater shrine anew from the foundations, the Greeks contented themselves with a restoration.

What was the earlier church like, and when was it built ?

The north, south and west walls of the church are extremely massive, about m 1.80 thick, and they are built of large stones in courses which average about cm 55 high ; the stones were taken from earlier buildings. The walls at the east end of the aisles are only about cm 90 thick, and the shallow niches which have been excavated in them look like unfortunate after-thoughts. The outer wall of the apse, which projects m 2.40 further east, is rectangular in plan. The bottom course at the east end projects slightly, except round the apse, and this offset was probably continued on the north and south walls ; it is not found at the west end. Masonry of this type is common in the Syrian churches of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, and it is to this period that we are disposed to attribute the original church. There is some reason to think that in plan this church was a basilica, with a single apse at the east end and colonnades between the nave and the aisles ; there are two stylobates now dividing nave and sanctuary from the aisles, and in line with them on both shoulders of the apse there are jagged edges which look like the remains of the two pilasters or engaged columns in which the colonnades may have ended; when the column inside the north-east pier was erected, the north stylobate was broken through, and none of the bases of these columns are set on the lines of the stylobates; it is difficult therefore to account for the stylobates, except on the hypothesis that they originally carried colonnades of the usual type, and that the church was basilica. There are small patches of mosaic with a fragment of an inscription in the south aisle, and other patches at the west end and in the north aisle, which might be assigned to the sixth century, and may be part of the original floor; the great west door, which could be closed, like the citadel gate at Beisan, by a bar slid into a long hole cut in the thickness of the south wall, we are inclined to assign also to the first building, but the gate at Beisan, unfortunately, cannot be closely dated. The archæological evidence does not permit us to say more about the date of the building and the literary tradition is not helpful; the Second Invention of the Head of St. John took place at Emesa about 450 A.D., so the First Invention must have taken place some decades earlier, but according to the story the discovery was made clandestinely in circumstances which are not likely to have been commemorated until the fame of the miraculous Head was noised abroad, and its cult firmly established; from this standpoint the fifth century seems to be the earliest possible date.

Most of what we see now belongs either to this basilica or to the restoration made in the twelfth century, but it is possible that the basilica had been re-constructed already once before the latter date, and that the granite columns embedded in the four central piers are the relics of an intermediate phase. These columns rest on marble bases, and one of the stylobates was broken to receive them; it is difficult to believe that they were erected by the builders of the piers as an original part of their plan, and it may well be argued that it is more likely that the builders found them already in position, and decided to utilise them in a manner to which there are several parallels. If this argument be accepted, we shall conclude that the basilica was converted at some time or other into a four-column church with, in all probability, a timber lantern.

SAMARIA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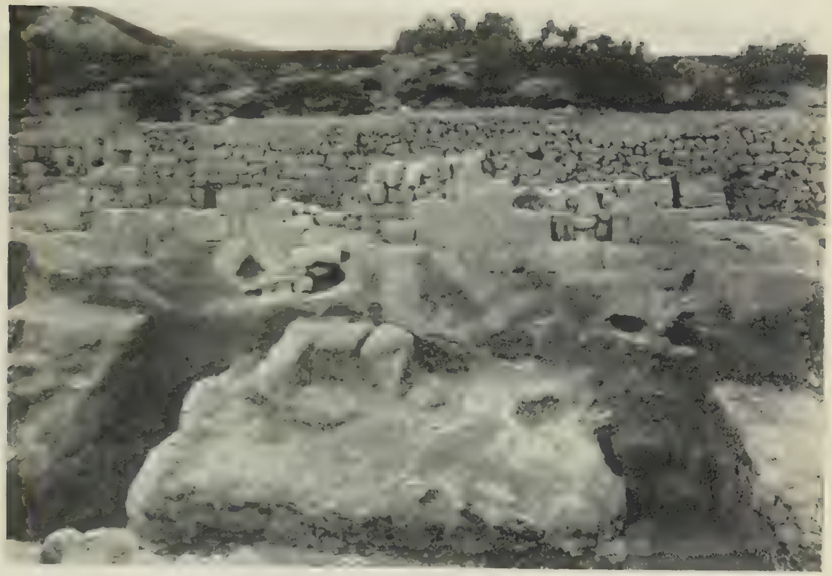

FIG. 2.—ISRAELITE PALACE, SCARP OF SOUTH WALL, FROM THE SOUTH.

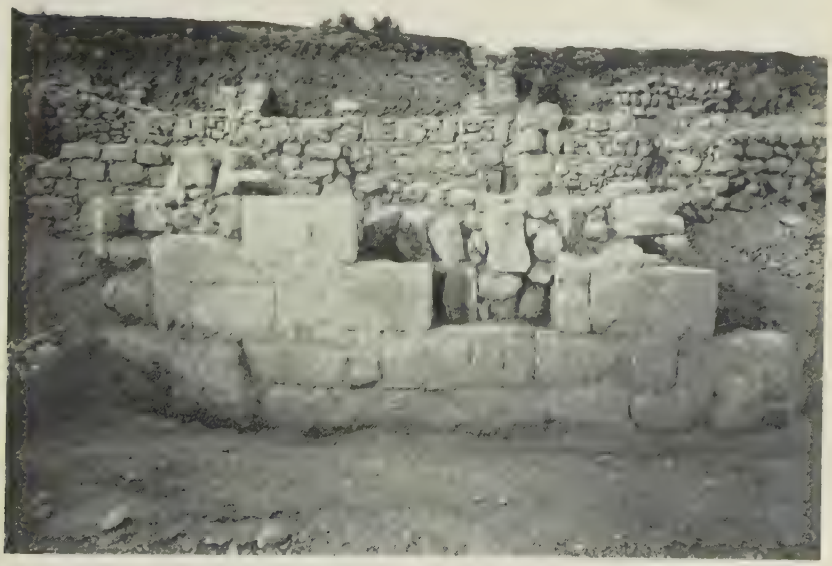

FIG. 3.—DETAIL OF MASONRY IN ISRAELITE PALACE. TAKEN FROM THE SOUTH.

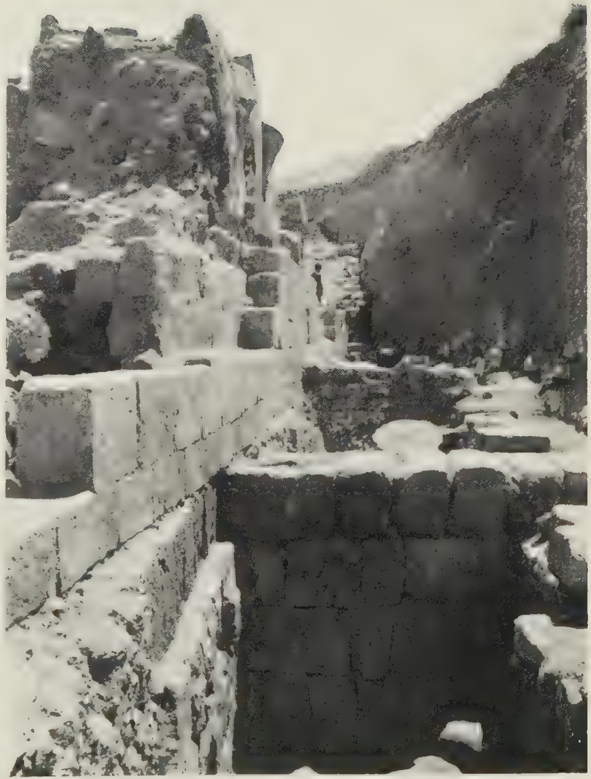

Fig. 4.—Herodian Corridor, showing Israelite Wall.
Taken from the North.

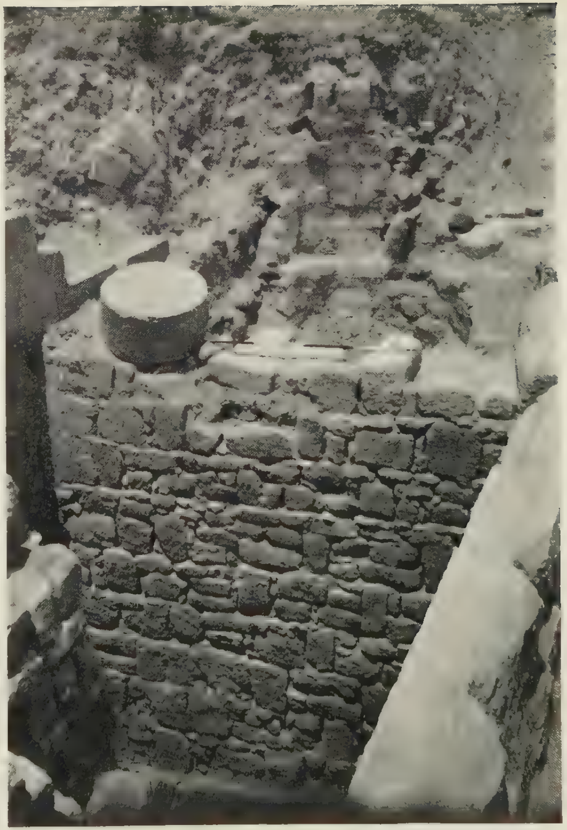

Fig. 5.—Hellenistic Fort Wall under Corridor.
From the South.

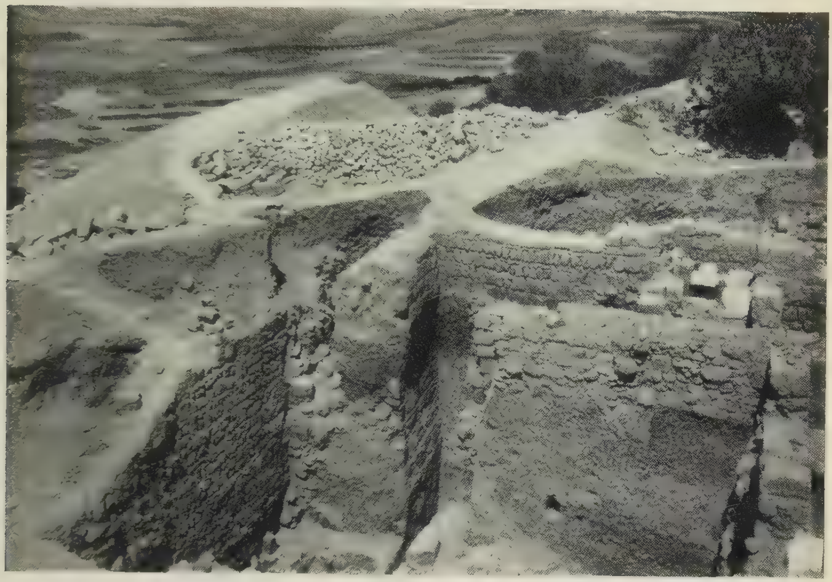

FIG. 6.—N.E. CORNER OF Q. b. LOOKING EAST, SHOWING "GABINIAN" PATCH WALL ON LEFT, AND IN CENTRE ROMAN FOUNDATION WALLS ON DEBRIS ABOVE THE HELLENISTIC FORT WALL.

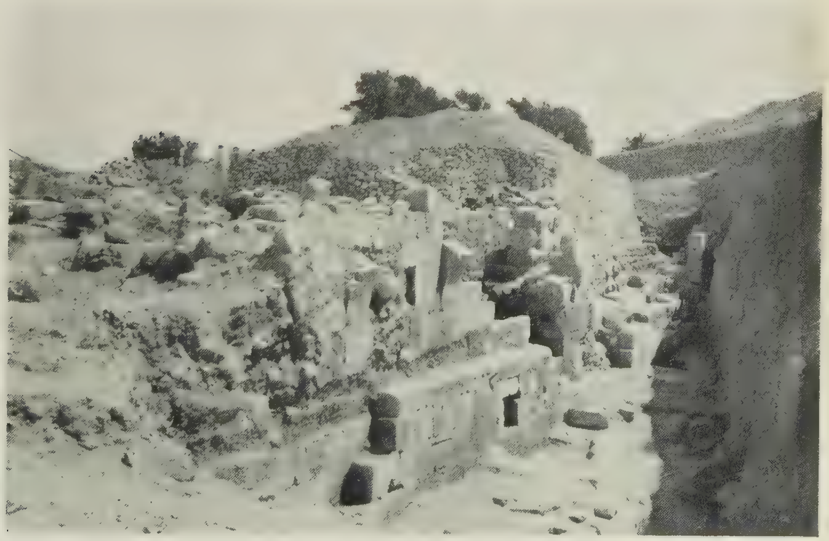

FIG. 7.—Q. b, CORRIDOR FROM NORTH. VIEW OF SUBTERRANEAN CORRIDOR OF THE AUGUSTEUM, SHOWING THE SPRINGS OF THE ARCHES AND TRACES OF THE LATER INDUSTRIAL INSTALLATION.

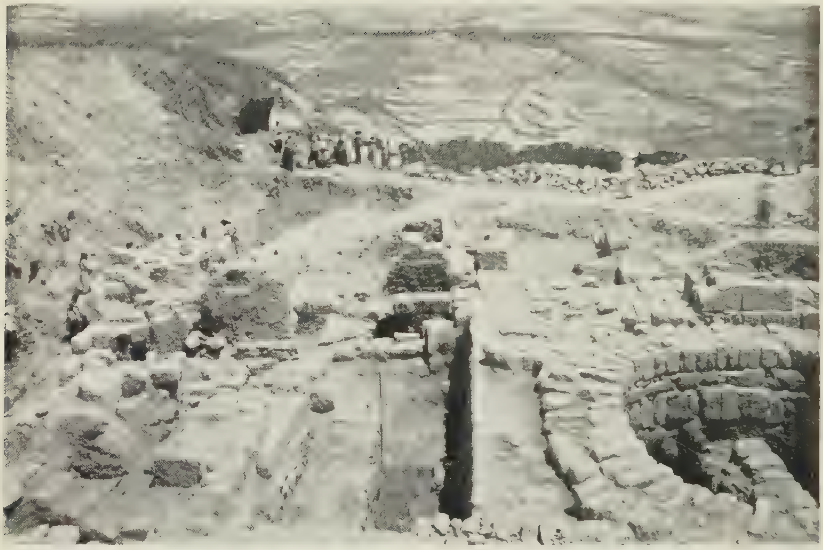

Fig. 8.—Q. b. General view from South. Middle section. View of Circular Fort and Stone Roman Walls under those of the Mosaic House.

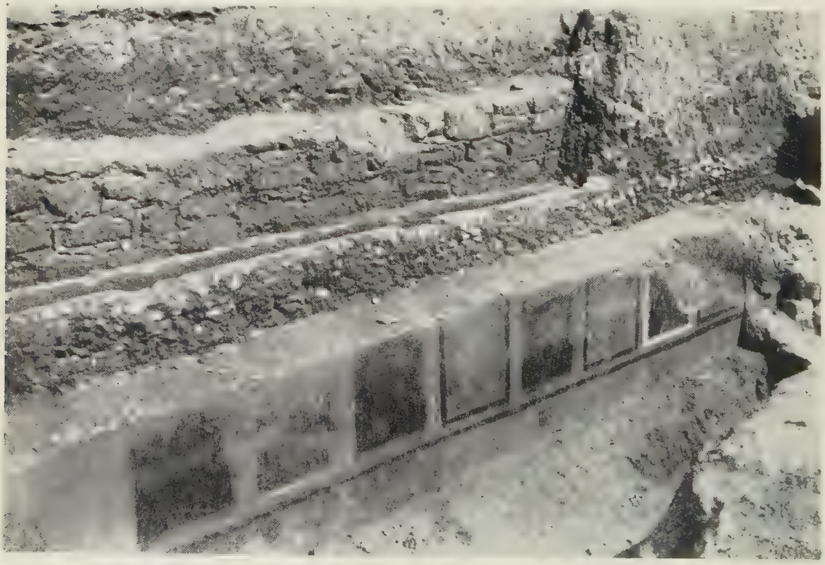

Fig. 9.—View of plastered Room under the West Colonnade of the Palaestra in South.

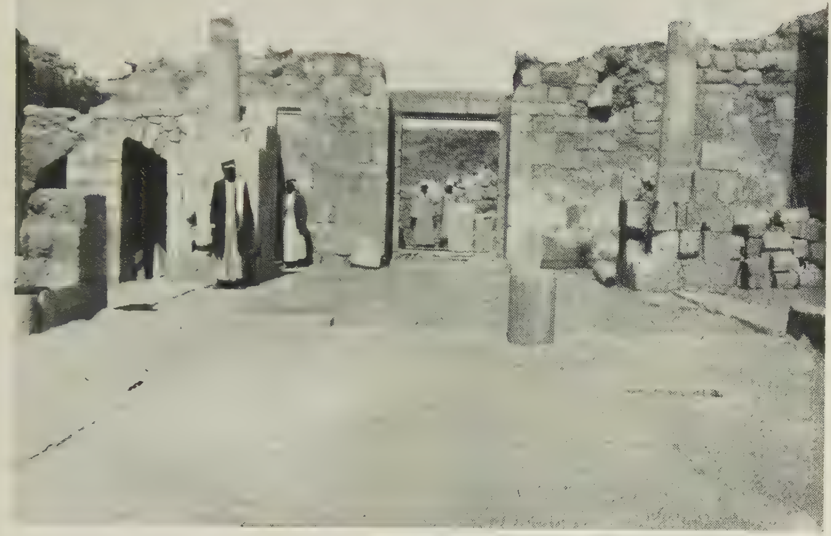

Fig. 11.—View of west end of church.

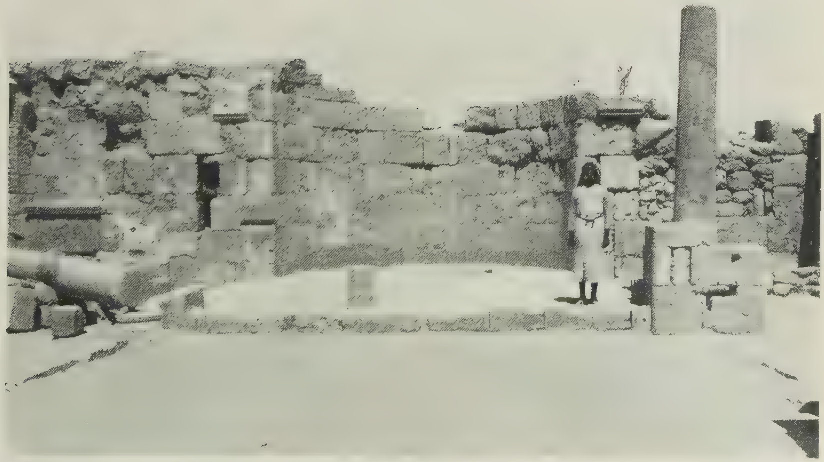

Fig. 12.—View of apse at east end of church.

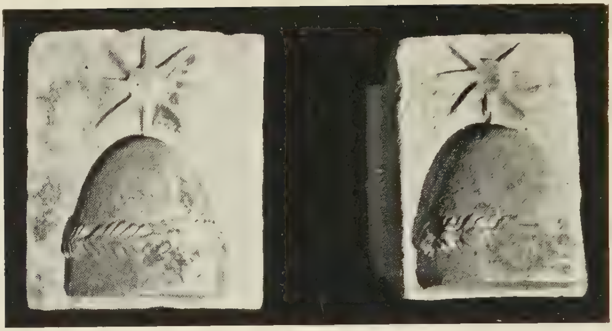

FIG. 10.—THE "HELMET" RELIEFS.

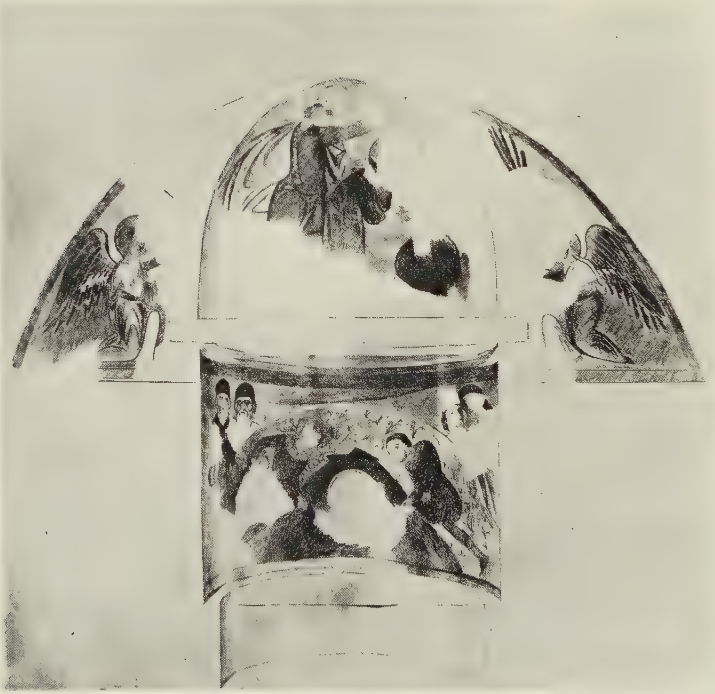

FIG. 13.—VIEW OF FRESCO IN CRYPT UNDER CHURCH.

The changes made after the time of Phocas can only be described as deformations of the church, at best they were clumsy botches to avert some danger. The walls of the narthex were built up presumably because the roof had collapsed; the west door was reduced in size, and other openings were blocked up; the old altar was removed, and a rough substitute erected; the screens at the east end, and the seats which had existed round the other sides of the nave, were taken away; a rough wall was built across the north aisle in line with the north-west pier, and in the south-west corner a vault was built to provide two rooms, perhaps for a priest; the lower of these had been used as kitchen, the upper was approached from the south aisle by a rough flight of steps built against the south wall. Some of these changes may have been made to repair damage caused by an earthquake, but others suggest wilful destruction; they were probably made at different times, but there is nothing to indicate precisely when. Professor Blake regards some Armenian graffiti found on the walls as late, not earlier than the fifteenth century, when, as we have already seen, John Poloner visited the place; in all probability the church was not abandoned until a century or so after this date. It has been used as a cemetery by the Christian community for a long time, twenty-five bodies or their fragments being found by us on the south side only, but it was not recognisable as a church before we cleared it, and the debris in most parts was between three and four metres deep, in spite of recent quarrying.

Karam el-Tūteh (*T*), *Karam el-Sheikh* (*S*), *Hakurat el-Baidar* (*B*).

As stated in my previous report, there is reason to believe that Sebaste dwindled after the Roman period. In Q. we found no trace of building later than the fourth century, and the remains found elsewhere were fragmentary.

In T. part of the mosaic floor was found on the north side of the field, some cm 80 above the level of the door sill in the complex east of the temple; the end of a *tabula ansata* and half-a-dozen letters only remain.

In S., at the east end of the north colonnade, there were mosaic floors in two rooms which communicated with each other. Both floors had fragmentary inscriptions, one mentioning a man named Eutropius, the other a woman, Ulpane; the patterns were mostly of the geometrical type popular in the fifth and sixth centuries, the Ulpane mosaic contained a large rose, with the words ΕΥ ΤΥΧΙ on the petals. There was no evidence of any burial in the chambers, but the inscriptions suggest that the room were memorial chapels, and the discovery shows that the colonnade was no longer used for its original purpose.

In B. the later remains, both Christian and Arab, were more considerable, and this was evidently the part of the site which was most heavily occupied at this time. The late street which led in the direction of the monastery in D. was described at sufficient length in my previous note; the houses on each side were destroyed almost to ground level, and it is impossible to reconstruct the plans of any single dwelling, but a few finds of interest were made, including remains of an olive-mill, an olive-press, a glass factory, and some late pottery.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN JERUSALEM.

The Annual General Meeting of the School was held on Friday, October 2nd, 1931, in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.1. Sir John Chancellor, G.B.E., K.C.M.G., late High Commissioner for Palestine presided over the open meeting, and Sir Frederick G. Kenyon, K.C.B., F.B.A., over the business meeting for subscribers only.

Business Meeting.—The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on 21st November, 1930, were confirmed and signed by the Chairman.

Prof. Myres read the Report of the Council for the Season 1930-31, which was unanimously adopted on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Dr. Masterman.

Statement of Accounts.—In the absence of the Honorary Treasurer, Prof. Myres presented the draft Accounts for the year ending Sept. 30th, 1931. Although the new year opened with £130 less balance in hand than last year, certain monies had still to come in. The School was beginning to profit from the very substantial economies which resulted from surrendering the premises which the School had occupied in the Government Museum at Jerusalem and devoting to research work the money hitherto spent on rent and upkeep.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Sir Charles Close, the Accounts were then adopted subject to audit, for which there had not been time between the close of the financial year on Sept. 30th and the Annual Meeting on October 2.

Election of Officers.—Sir Thomas Haycraft proposed and Mr. Hyamson seconded the re-election of Professor J. L. Myres as Chairman, Mr. Robert Mond as Honorary Treasurer, and Mr. C. E. Mott as Honorary Secretary. The proposition was unanimously carried.

Election of Council.—The Chairman explained that four members of the Council retired by rotation and proposed on behalf of the Council that Sir Arthur Evans and Dr. Stanley Cook be re-elected members of the Council, and that Mr. J. W. Crowfoot and Mr. G. M. FitzGerald be elected as new members.

Sir Thomas Haycraft seconded and the proposition was carried unanimously.

Election of Auditors.—On the motion of Mr. Hyamson, seconded by Mr. H. D. Acland, Dr. W. G. Masterman and Mr. J. E. Quibell were unanimously re-elected Auditors.

This concluded the Business Meeting.

OPEN MEETING.

The Chair at the Open Meeting of Subscribers and friends of the School was taken by Sir John Chancellor, G.B.E., who said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I appreciate highly the great honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over the Annual Meeting of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem. I have, during the three years I have been in Palestine, seen a good deal of the activities of Mr. Crowfoot and his colleagues at Mt. Ophel, Jerash, Sebastieh, and elsewhere. I am filled with admiration of the work that they have done with the very limited resources at their disposal, and it has been a constant regret to me that they have not had greater power to extend the work they are doing so admirably.

As you know, Great Britain is responsible under the Mandate for the custody of ancient monuments and archæological remains in Palestine and for ensuring that facilities for archæological exploration are open to all nations wishing to undertake excavations, exploration and research work in Palestine. Owing to the care and tact of Mr. Richmond, our Director of Antiquities, assisted by a Committee composed of members nominated by the nations interested in the archæology of the Holy Land, the work of the various nations and bodies has been carried on without friction. Every nation, I think, is satisfied with the way in which the archæological work is done. In fact, I think I may truthfully say that the archæological sphere of its activities is the only one in which the Government of Palestine has been fortunate enough to escape violent hostile criticism and condemnation. But do not let it be inferred from that remark that I am for a moment suggesting that Palestine would be more happily governed under a condominium of the Powers.

I do not claim to have any knowledge of archæology, for during my life I have, for the most part, been a governor of what may be described as new countries. Until I went to Palestine three years ago I had not come into contact with archæologists and their work. But he would be a dull and unimaginative person who would not be inspired by the absorbing interest of that fascinating science, the collection of the raw materials of the history of man. No country in the world is so rich in archæological remains as Palestine. It is hardly possible to turn over a clod in the fields without turning up something that reveals the activities of man in the country —it may be a small piece of mosaic or a fragment of cut stone; almost everywhere you find something that shows that man has been long in the country. Only about a month ago I was opening a new pumping station at a remote spring in the Wadi Kelt, which I believe is the Brook Kerith. The waters of the spring were being diverted to supplement the always inadequate supply of Jerusalem, which is abnormally short of water this season owing to last winter's drought. In the course of the excavations connected with the pumping station an ancient building with mosaic floors and Byzantine crosses in the walls was discovered, about which Mr. Crowfoot may tell you something later on[1]. It seems extraordinary that in the remote region of the Wadi Kelt, half-way between Jericho and Jerusalem, an ancient building should be discovered; but that is typical of what is found everywhere in Palestine.

There was some opposition to the diversion of the waters of the spring to Jerusalem by people interested in the lower part of the Wadi Kelt; and attempts were made to intimidate the labourers engaged on the work. It was reported that the jinns of the spring were displeased with the work being carried on in connection with their spring and that they resented the attempt to interfere with their property. During the night stones fell upon the workers' camp from the neighbouring hills, and it was stated that the stones were thrown by the jinns of the spring to mark their displeasure. To show you how thoroughly the jinns entered into the spirit of their enterprise I may tell you that they took the trouble to soak the stones in water before they threw them into the workers' camp in order to give an air of verisimilitude to the report, which had been circulated to the effect that the stones were thrown by the jinns of the spring.

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[1] See Mr. Crowfoot's expanded report in this issue, pp. 8-34.

As a further example of the ubiquity of archæological remains in Palestine and Transjordan, I may mention another matter that came to my notice about a month ago, when I met one of the surveyors who has been engaged in surveying the Haifa-Baghdad Railway route across the desert. He told me that he had been surveying in eastern Transjordan and there he had to cross a tract of desert the surface of which was covered with blocks of basalt, varying in size from the circumference of one's fist to a fairly large boulder. So close are these blocks that it is impossible to pass over that tract with a vehicle of any sort. In turning over those blocks the surveyor had found that many of them bore inscriptions in a character that was unknown to him. He has had some of the blocks sent to England and they will, in due course, be deciphered, and I hope prove to be of interest. These instances are sufficient to show that in Palestine there is still a mine of archæological wealth to be developed.

As you probably know, the exact sites of many of the Christian holy places are subjects of controversy; but to those who go to Palestine in a spirit of reverence these controversies appear to be of little moment, because one realizes that, wherever may be the exact spots where historic events in the life of our Lord took place, in Palestine, beyond any shadow of doubt, one sees the roads and paths He trod, the places He saw, and the countryside in which He dwelt, hardly changed after 1900 years.

But what is very striking in Palestine is the extraordinary accuracy of the topographical descriptions of the Old Testament, which I have been told is to-day one of the best guide-books to Palestine.

About two years ago, I visited the city of Mizpah, where excavations were being carried out by Professor Badé, of California. In the course of our tour round his works he pulled his Bible out of his pocket and read to me (I do not know from what part of the book) the description of that city, built by Asa, King of Judah. He read: "In the midst of the city I builded me a Tower." "Here," said Professor Badé, "is the tower." "And close by thereto I builded a wine-press." "And here," said the professor, "is the wine-press." And there they were. There were the foundations of the tower quite distinct and the wine-press partly cut out of the rock and practically intact. It greatly adds to the fascination of investigation and study in Palestine to come across such accurate descriptions written three or four thousand years ago.

Archæologists in Palestine, I know, are inclined to favour research into ancient biblical history and the earliest origins of man, and are apt to pass over the Greek and Roman period ; but I should like to put in a plea for those periods and to express the hope that it may some day soon be possible to excavate Ascalon, which I visited some time ago and where your School did valuable work nine or ten years ago. The rich finds which rewarded you there after comparatively little work make one long to see a thorough excavation of that site. I hope if better times come for the world and for the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem that it will be possible either for the School or for the Government of Palestine to induce some rich archæological enthusiast to undertake a thorough investigation of Ascalon. It would be an interesting and fascinating study.

You will, I know, be glad to hear from me that the Archæological Museum at Jerusalem, which we owe to the generosity of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, jun., is making very good progress. The contract was signed about six months ago ; the foundations are now complete, and have been specially reinforced to prevent injury to the building by earthquakes. When I was in Jerusalem about five weeks ago I visited the building and was glad to see the walls already three or four feet above ground. The building is really a remarkable one as a Museum, and I am sure it will give great pleasure to all archæologists who see it. The design was sent to an expert on Museums in America and I am informed that he paid it the compliment of saying that it was without the faults that were present in the design of every other museum he had seen. That is a good augury for the future of our Museum.

Before closing I should like to refer to a matter mentioned at the meeting of the Council at which I was an unintentional interloper. It was interesting to me to learn from Professor Myres what had been done in one of the most important parts of your activities, namely, in the training of archæologists. The Government of Palestine has drawn very freely upon you for the men you have trained. Mr. Hamilton is now acting as Director of Antiquities in Palestine with remarkable success. I had several conversations with him during his incumbency, and I consider we are extraordinarily lucky in having secured his services. I may say the same with regard to Mr. Johns, another of those trained by the British School of Archæology.

In conclusion, I should like to record once more my admiration for the work done by the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, and to appeal to all those who are interested in British scholarship, and in the Christian religion to give such assistance as they can to promote the admirable work that is being done.

The Work of the School in the Season 1930-1931.—The Director of the School, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., then described the session's work of the Joint Expedition at Samaria; Miss D. A. E. Garrod, Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge, described the excavation of Caves near Athlit; and Mr. Turville-Petre his work in the Cave Zikhron Yakob in the same neighbourhood.[1]

Vote of Thanks.—Sir Charles Close proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Sir John Chancellor for presiding and delivering a very much appreciated address. All who had listened to it had enjoyed it and would, undoubtedly, take to heart the advice given. Thanks were also due to the Director, Mr. Crowfoot, for his lecture; also to Miss Garrod and Mr. Turville-Petre. Altogether, there had been a most excellent series of accounts of the activities of the School, and all present were grateful to the three speakers. Finally, thanks would, the speaker felt sure, be heartily accorded to the Society of Antiquaries for generously allowing the meeting the use of their rooms.

The vote of thanks having been most heartily accorded, the proceedings terminated.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR SEASON 1930-31.

The Council has to report a year of unusual activity, with ten students in the field, and no less than five excavations, in addition to the great enterprise undertaken at Samaria in conjunction with Harvard University, the British Academy, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

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[1] These communications will be printed in the next issue of the *Q.S.*

General.—When we surrendered our quarters above the Government Museum last year, we retained by the courtesy of the Department an attic and a garage to house our excavation kit, etc., when it was not in use in the field. The growing needs of the Museum have compelled the authorities reluctantly to ask us to evacuate these rooms in the course of the past season. Our old friends, the Dominicans, have most nobly come to our help: a vacant room in their School building, which meets our every requirement, has been placed by them at our disposal. It has laid us under another debt to the Very Reverend the Prior and the Fathers of the House, and we beg them to accept this expression of our deep gratitude for their courteous assistance.

The Director remained in England until the end of last year in order to see through the press a preliminary report on *Churches at Jerash*, which was issued to subscribers as Supplementary Paper No. 3. He took the opportunity also of giving lectures on the work of the School in London, Manchester and Sheffield. He returned to Palestine at the beginning of January, and was busy during the next three months in making preparations for the Samaria expedition. By the end of March some modest quarters had been erected on the site, and five areas leased for the work of the first season. Actual excavation was started on the 1st April, and the last of the party did not leave Samaria until the 10th July.

Excavation of Samaria.—In the course of the season's work a magnificent section of the Israelite city wall of the time of Omri and Ahab was uncovered at the south-east corner of the old acropolis, and a still longer section of the south wall of the palace enclosure of these kings was found further to the west. On the north side of the summit a continuation of the great fort wall, traced further west by the earlier Harvard expedition, proved to be of the Hellenistic period. The site of a temple to Kore (Persephone) was identified on a lower terrace to the north-west, and part of the so-called Hippodrome, which is probably a *palaestra*, was cleared. An unexpected discovery was that of a church on the south side of the acropolis: the walls were standing over twelve feet high, and in a crypt at the north-east corner some interesting frescoes which appear to represent the martyrdom of S. John the Baptist and the

Invention of his head were found. The church is, no doubt, that of a Greek monastery which is mentioned by the early Dominican pilgrim, Burchard of Mount Sion, and others: it appears to have been originally built in the fifth century perhaps, reconstructed a century or two later, and again in the time of the Latin kingdom.

Five other excavations were undertaken under the auspices of the School.

Caves near Athlit.—Miss Garrod continued the very fruitful excavation begun in 1929 in the caves near Athlit. She was assisted by Mr. Theodore McCown again, and by Dr. Van Heerden and Miss Heseltine. The principal finds of the season were the skull of a Neanderthaloid child in a side cave and a marvellous series of skeletons of the Mesolithic period in front of the main cave: bead headdresses were found still in position on some of the skulls.

Cave near Zikhron Yakob.—Miss Garrod's finds were supplemented in a wonderful way by finds made by Mr. Turville-Petre and Mrs. Baynes in a cave further south near Zikhron Yakob, which included a superb series of carved bones, stone mortars and other objects of the Mesolithic period. When it is remembered that only one carved bone of this period has been found previously in Palestine or, we believe, anywhere outside Europe, the importance of these finds will be appreciated. The cost of both these works was again met by a generous gift from Mr. Robert Mond, supplemented by a grant from the American School of Prehistoric Studies.

Cave Mugharet el-Zuttiyeh.—This is the cave, partly excavated in 1925, in which the much-discussed "Galilee Skull" was found. After that excavation, the cave was fenced by the Department of Antiquities as a national monument. But in 1930 it was thought desirable to remove this fence, and necessary, therefore, to complete the excavation of the cave deposit. This was accordingly done by Mr. F. Turville-Petre, with the help of a grant from the British Association. No further fragments of the "Galilee Skull" were found, nor, indeed, human remains of any kind. The remainder of the deposit was in general conformity with the portion already excavated.

Dolmens in Northern Galilee.—Earlier in the season Mr. Turville-Petre cleared a number of Dolmens in Northern Galilee, but found that all of them had been rifled previously. This work was defrayed by a generous contribution made by Mr. Robert Garrett, of Baltimore. A report on the work was published in the *Quarterly Statement* for July.

Khan-el-Ahmar.—At the monastery of S. Euthymius, Mr. Chitty continued for a few days the work on which he has been engaged for the last three years.

Students.—Ten students were admitted, or re-admitted, to the School :—

Mrs. C. A. Baynes (1925) worked with Mr. Turville-Petre in the spring at Zikhron Yakub.

Miss Muriel Bentwich (1931) was appointed to a Robert Mond studentship, and joined the staff of the Samaria Expedition, for which she made excellent coloured studies of the frescoes and other objects found.

Lieut.-Commander A. G. Buchanan (1928) who was working with the Egypt Exploration Society at Arment in the winter, joined the staff at Samaria as surveyor.

Rev. D. J. Chitty, B.A. (1927, New College, Oxford) returned to work at the monastery of S. Euthymius in the autumn.

Mr. C. W. Dugmore (1931, Exeter College, Oxford) came out to study Hebrew and Arabic. He stayed in Palestine from September, 1930, until last June, and worked privately and in connection with the Hebrew University on linguistic and literary subjects, and made journeys in the country.

Miss D. A. E. Garrod, M.A., B.Sc. (1928, Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge), rejoined the School to continue the work already mentioned.

Miss K. M. Kenyon, B.A. (1931, Somerville College, Oxford), joined the staff at Samaria, and took part in the supervision of the work at the Hippodrome and on the summit.

Mr. F. Turville-Petre (1925, Exeter College, Oxford) rejoined for the excavations already mentioned.

Dr. P. Van Heerden (1931, M.D. Amsterdam), joined the School to work at Athlît with Miss Garrod.

Rev. Ninian Wright, M.A. (1931, Aberdeen University), came out as Wilson Fellow in the month of May, and joined the staff at Samaria, working especially on coins and inscribed Rhodian jar-handles.

Former Students.—We have to congratulate two of our former students on having obtained appointments in the Department of Antiquities under the Palestine Government. Mr. R. W. Hamilton was appointed Chief Inspector, and Mr. M. B. Aviyonah an Assistant in the Library Section which will be attached to the new Museum.

Three other former students are still doing archæological work in the country, Mr. Horsfield as Director of the Department of Antiquities in Transjordan, Mr. FitzGerald as Field Director of the expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Beisan, and Mr. Johns as Field Archæologist of the Palestine Government in charge of the excavations at the castle of Athlit.

Distribution of Duplicate Antiquities to subscribing institutions has again been made possible by the courtesy of the Department of Antiquities.

Publications.—A first instalment of the results of the School's Excavations at Jerash, undertaken in conjunction with Yale University, has been published by the Director, as *Supplementary Paper No.* 3, under the title *Churches of Jerash* (London : price five shillings ; to subscribers to the School or to the Palestine Exploration Fund, half-a-crown). The work on the Churches has now been concluded, but Yale University is continuing work at Jerash on the classical buildings which lie round about the churches ; so it was thought best to issue this preliminary report at once, on the part of the work in which the School has been concerned. This Supplementary Paper contains 48 pages of text, a folding plan of the principal group of churches round the Fountain Court, and 13 plates including two coloured reproductions of the pictorial mosaics in St. John Baptist's Church, and S.S. Peter and Paul's, for which the School is indebted to the courtesy of the *Illustrated London News.*

Other publications, contributed to the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, which incorporates the *Bulletin* of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, are as follows :—

October, 1930 :—Three recent excavations in Palestine. By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A.

Two churches at Gaza, as described by Choricius of Gaza. By R. W. Hamilton. B.A.

January, 1931, :—Report for the Season, 1929-1930.

April, 1931, :—Excavations at the Mugharet el-Wad, 1930. By Miss Dorothy Garrod.

Hyssop. By Mrs. G. M. Crowfoot and Miss L. Baldensperger.

July, 1931, :—Work of the Joint Expedition to Samaria-Sebustiyah, April and May, 1931. By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A.

Recent work round the Fountain Court at Jerash. By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A.

Dolmen Necropolis near Kerazeh, Galilee: Excavations of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, 1930. By F. Turville-Petre, B.A.

Contributed to *Man* 1931, 159. Excavations at the Mugharet el-Wad. By Miss Dorothy Garrod.

DEATH OF MR. C. E. MOTT.

Since the above was printed we regret to have to report the death of Mr. C. E. Mott, who had been re-elected Honorary Secretary of the School. A correspondent writes:—

"By the death of Mr. Charles Egerton Mott, the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem loses a devoted Honorary Secretary and constant supporter. Mr. Mott was born on 3rd February, 1870, and was educated at Uppingham School and Oriel College, Oxford, and afterwards practised as a solicitor in the City of London. In 1915 he obtained a commission in the Royal Army Service Corps, served at Suvla Bay throughout, and subsequently in Egypt in operations on the Western Desert; was present at the first and second battle of Gaza and with Allenby's troops in the advance on Jerusalem; and remained in Palestine and Syria for some six months after the Armistice. He had always taken a very great interest in archæology, and had carried out a considerable number of successful excavations in North Cornwall. During the campaign in Palestine he made good use of his opportunities for archæological observations. His interest in the work of the British School of Archæology was a very genuine one, and he was a regular attendant at the meetings of its Council."

EXCAVATIONS IN THE WADY EL-MUGHARA, 1931.

By Miss Dorothy Garrod, M.A., B.Sc.

In previous numbers of the *Quarterly Statement* I have already described the work of two seasons at the Wady el-Mughara (Valley of the Caves), which lies at the foot of the western slope of Mount Carmel, 12 miles south of Haifa. This year, my third season at the site, excavation at the Mugharet el-Wad was confined to the terrace, and, at the same time, work was carried on in two neighbouring caves, the Mugharet et-Tabon (Cave of the Oven), which lies close to the Mugharet el-Wad at a higher level, and the Mugharet es-School (Cave of the Kids), a little higher up the valley. As in former years, work was made possible by the generosity of Mr. Robert Mond, while we once more welcomed the collaboration of the American School of Prehistoric Research. I was fortunate in having an excellent team of helpers. Mr. Theodore MacCown, of the University of California, was in sole charge of the Mugharet es-School, while Dr. van Heerden and Miss Heseltine supervised the work on the terrace of the Mugharet el-Wad, and thanks to this division of labour we were able to accomplish more than usual in the season.

The terrace of the Mugharet el-Wad before excavation was a more or less level platform, roughly 7 m. × 10 m., lying immediately outside the mouth of the cave and facing N.W. From the edge of the terrace the ground sloped fairly steeply down to the level of the coastal plain. The sequence of deposits was as follows :—

A. Bronze Age to recent, with a maximum thickness of 2 m., thinning out to 50 cm. further down the slope ;

B. Mesolithic, average thickness 2.50 m. ; the greatest thickness of this layer was at the point where excavation ceased, on the slope of the terrace, corresponding to the minimum thickness of A.

Layer A consisted of stony grey-brown earth, and showed no trace of stratification, pottery of all ages being found at all levels. Layer B was made up of reddish brown earth, somewhat less stony than A, and growing redder and more compact towards the base. Traces of hearths were abundant all through the layer. From the stratigraphical point of view, the chief work of the season has been the sub-division of B into two levels corresponding to a well-marked change in industry. In both levels the microlithic lunate was the most typical and most abundant implement, but in B^1 (the upper level) these were small, and in the great majority of cases had the back trimmed vertically, in the *dos rabattu* manner, while in B^2 they were larger, and the characteristic trimming encroached on to both surfaces of the blade, giving the back a ridged section. In B^1 micro-burins were abundant, in B^2 very rare; in B^1 sickle-blades were rare, in B^2 abundant. Bone implements were rare in B^1, and confined to a few fragments of points, whereas in B^2 were found bone-pendants, fragments of harpoons and sickle-blade hafts. It is interesting to note that only B^2 was present inside the cave, and that it was from this level that we obtained the two carvings which I described in 1929 and 1930. On the other hand, I am convinced that the mesolithic industry which I found in collaboration with Mr. and Mrs. George Woodbury in the cave of Shukba in 1928, corresponds to the B^1 level just described, and I am therefore obliged to revise my original opinion that it represents an older phase than the industry of the Mugharet el-Wad.

It is important to note that the rock-cut platform and basins were covered by a compact undisturbed B^2 layer, 1 m. in thickness, and therefore belong to the older phase.

This mesolithic industry has so many original features that all prehistorians with whom I have discussed the matter agree on the necessity of giving it a name of its own, and I have therefore decided to call it Natufian, since the cave of Shukba, in which it was first discovered, lies in the Wady en-Natuf. (I may say that this name has already been adopted for working purposes by French prehistorians in Palestine.) Layer B of Shukba, and B^1 of the Mugharet el-Wad would thus belong to the Upper Natufian, and B^2 of the Mugharet el-Wad to the Lower Natufian.

Our 1930 trench, roughly 14 × 7 m., lay immediately in front of the mouth of the cave, and our work this season consisted in extending this excavation on both sides and lower down the slope. We found, as we had already suspected in 1930, that the levelled platform containing the basins, lay at the edge of the relatively gentle rock-slope which constituted the terrace of the cave; beyond this point the rock sloped down very sharply, to correspond with the break in the slope of the surface soil before excavation. Banked against this rock-cliff was a bed of compact red earth, 2.50 m. in thickness. This contained the Lower Natufian industry to a depth of 1.50 m., below which it was sterile down to the rock.

An interesting series of discoveries enabled us to reconstruct with certainty the original slope of the ground at the time when the rock-basins were made. Five metres from the edge of the platform part of a rough pavement was uncovered at a depth of 1.50 m. from the surface. This was made up of slabs of tabular limestone, not shaped in any way by man, but carefully chosen and fitted together. This kind of crazy pavement continued into the east extension of the trench, although here it was much less perfect. A sufficient number of slabs was found, however, to enable us to trace it up the slope until it came to an end against a rough wall, made up of a single course of limestone blocks resting on bed-rock. This wall curved outward from the levelled area of rock found in 1930, and thus formed a kind of enclosure for the basins. It was clear that basins, wall and pavement formed a single scheme, though its purpose still remains obscure.

Both the Upper and Lower Natufian layers contained a number of burials. These generally lay on one side (right or left indifferently) in the flexed position, but one skeleton, discovered in 1930, lay on its face with the legs drawn up. In three cases at least, the body must have been bound before *rigor mortis* set in, as the knees are closely drawn up to the chin. No attempt had been made to orientate the bodies in a particular direction ; they faced all points of the compass. Seventeen well-defined burials of individuals were identified, but, in addition to these, we obtained a large number of fragmentary ill-preserved remains, so closely huddled together that it was impossible to separate individual bodies. Three of the well-preserved burials are of special interest. They lay near together in the lower end of the trench, half-way between the pavement and the rock-basins, and slightly below the level of the former. The first skeleton is that of a young child, buried at the edge of a common grave containing five or six individuals. On the skull is a kind of cap, composed of bone beads or pendants made from toe bones of gazelle or goat. One-and-a-half metres to the N.E. was an adult skeleton, much crushed and badly preserved, lying on its face, with knees drawn up to the chin (Fig. 1). The back of the head was covered with dentalia, evidently forming part of a cap,

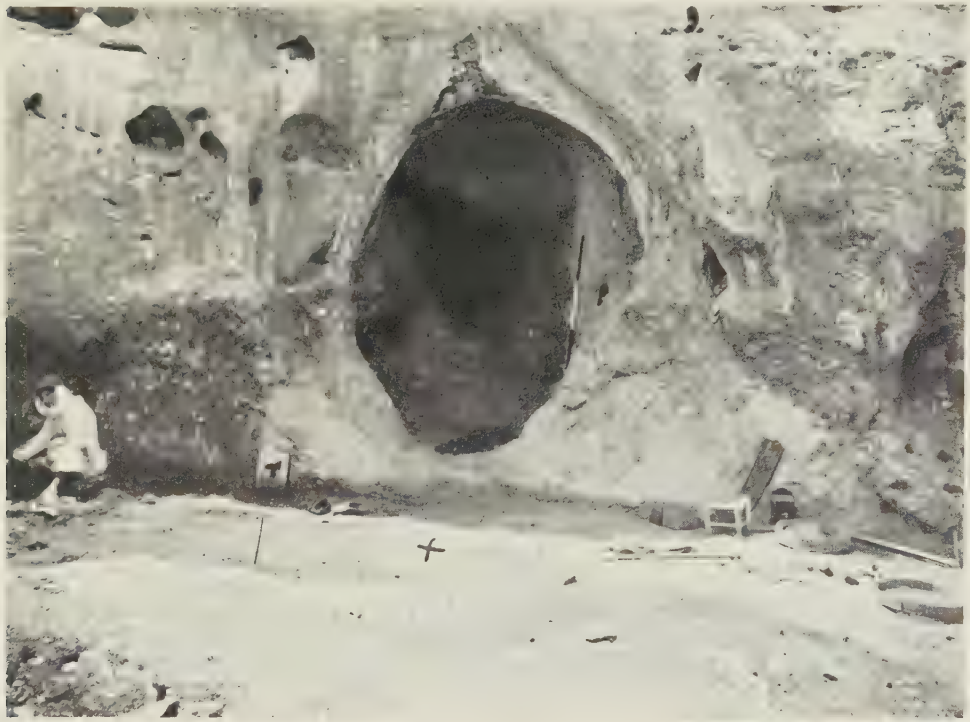
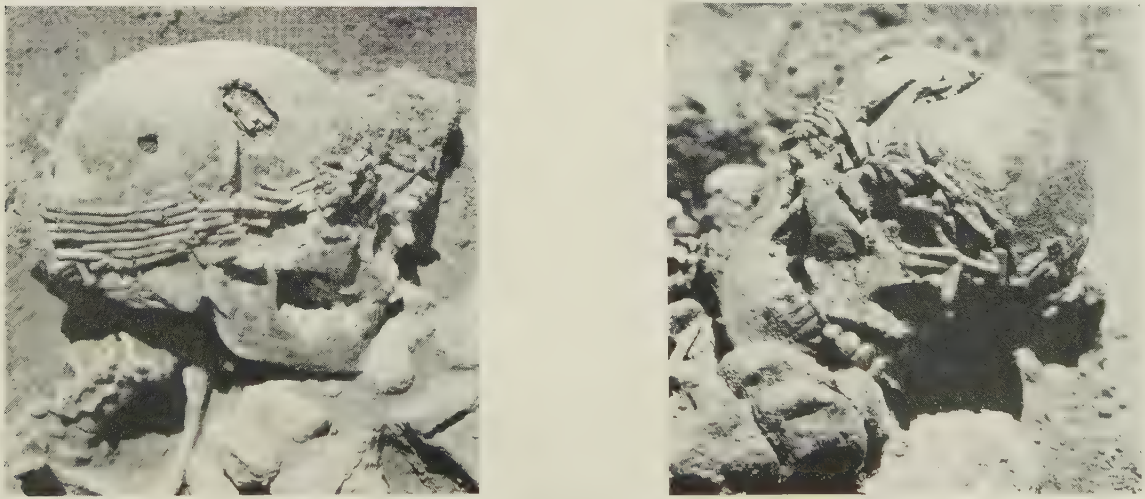


FIG. 5.—GENERAL VIEW OF MUGHARET ES-SCHOOL. THE CROSS MARKS THE SPOT WHERE THE SKELETON OF A NEANDERTAL CHILD WAS FOUND.



FIGS. 3 AND 4. CLOSE VIEW OF SKELETON IN FIG. 2 SHOWING SEVEN ROWS OF DENTALIA IN PLACE.

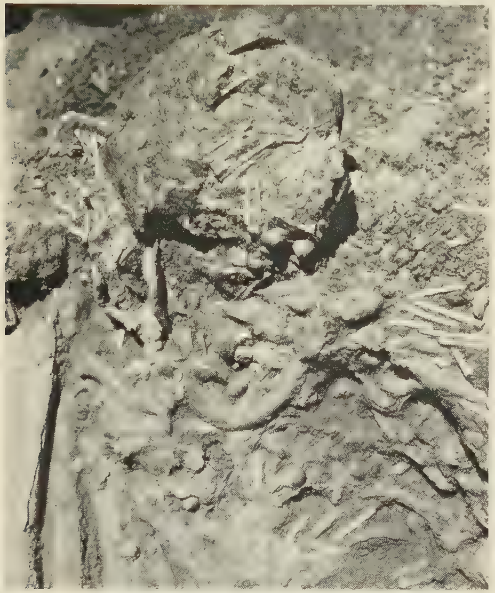


FIG. 1.—TERRACE OF MUGHARET EL-WAD. SKELETON WITH CAP OF DENTALIA AND NECKLACE OF BONE BEADS.

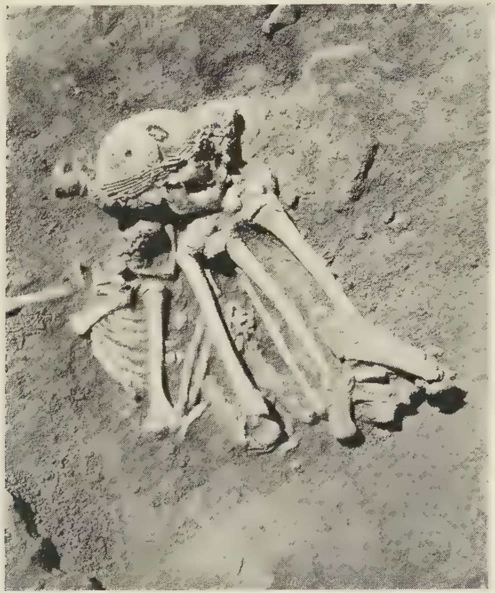


FIG. 2.—TERRACE OF MUGHARET EL-WAD. SKELETON WITH CIRCLET OF DENTALIA.

and when the skull was removed, two fan-shaped ornaments of dentalia were found on the frontal bone. A band of eight rows of dentalia surrounded one tibia. The lower jaw and thorax were filled with bone pendants, evidently the remains of a necklace. One metre to the N.E. again lay a second, well-preserved adult skeleton. It rested on the left side with the knees drawn up to the chin, and on the head was a circlet, perfectly in place, made up of seven rows of dentalia. (Figs. 2, 3 and 4).

This represents the sum of our finds on the terrace of the Mugharet el-Wad, but before considering the other two sites excavated I must mention in passing that this season's work bore out my findings of previous years that no contemporary pottery is associated with the Natufian. At the same time it should be noted that sherds were fairly common in B^1, though decreasing in number towards the base of the level. The great majority of these sherds were, however, Byzantine, and all except a very few historic. The small remainder were almost certainly Bronze Age. In B^2, which was more compact than B^1, there had been no penetration, and sherds were absent.

The Mugharet et-Tabon lies in the same bay of cliff as the Mugharet el-Wad, but at a higher level. It consists of an inner and outer chamber, roughly equal in size (about 7 m. in diameter) the inner chamber being a well which runs up to the top of the cliff with an opening 4.50 m. in diameter. Before excavation this well was filled to a line 1.50 m. above the archway communicating with the outer chamber, and could only be reached through two narrow shafts opened by the slipping down of earth and stones into the outer chamber, where the deposit at its highest point was 1.50 m. below the archway. A sounding was made in the outer chamber in 1929, and a certain number of Mousterian implements were found. Work was then abandoned, owing to the overhang of the deposits in the well or chimney. This year, excavation was begun in the chimney, and the red earth which filled it was lowered by 4.50 m., so that communication between the two chambers is now easy.

Apart from a thin covering of humus, which contained very sparse archæological remains, the red earth of the chimney appears to be a Pleistocene deposit from the very top. Mousterian implements occurred in the first few centimetres, and continued throughout the depth excavated, without any admixture of later forms.

This suggests that the hill-top was already completely denuded by the end of the Middle Palæolithic times. That the implements are really *in situ,* and have not been washed in from the hill-top is shown by their perfect condition, their remarkably even distribution through the deposit, and by their association with a large number of animal bones broken for food. Mousterian man evidently continued to crawl into the chimney (possibly for safety) long after it had become very difficult of access.

The implements found belong to a Mousterian identical with that of Shukba and the Mugharet el-Wad. It is in the Levalloisian tradition, with abundant triangular flakes. At the same time, as at Shukba, well-made burins are not rare. A single, very rough hand-axe was found. During the last days of the dig, at a depth of 4.50 m., I obtained eight human teeth from an upper jaw, but unfortunately the skull had completely disappeared.

A sounding was made at the mouth of the outer cave, in the bottom of the 1929 trench. This passed through a hearth with abundant Mousterian implements at a depth of 80 cm., and reached a second Mousterian hearth at 1.30 m. Work was then suspended, at a total depth of 10.50 m. from the highest point of the deposit in the chimney.

The great interest of the Tabon cave lies in the association of an abundant fauna with the Mousterian, a thing so far unknown in this region, and also in its promise of great depth, with the possibility of obtaining a still older industry than that already found. It was to the excavation of this site that I myself gave the greater part of my time this year, and I hope next year to do the same.

The Mugharet es-School, as I have said, was excavated by Mr. Theodore McCown. The site is really a rock shelter with a small cave opening in the back wall, facing N. across the valley. (Fig. 5.) It contained a single archæological deposit, a tough reddish earth, in places hardened to a breccia, with a maximum thickness of 2.50 m., resting immediately on bed-rock. This yielded a Mousterian industry identical with thatof the Tabon, and a fair number of animal bones. On the 26th May excavation in front of the cave had reached a depth of 1.75 cm., the material being tough breccia, when Mr. McCown discovered a human lower jaw, evidently belonging to a young child. A few minutes later he exposed part of a frontal bone. This was removed in a cube of breccia measuring 50 cm. in all directions and carried down to the camp. In chipping at the block to reduce its weight Mr. McCowan uncovered, on one face, the lower end of a humerus, on the other, part of the pelvis and some ribs. The block has now been excavated in the College of Surgeons, and the skeleton has proved to be practically complete. Sir Arthur Keith states that it is that of a child of two-and-a-half years, of definite Neandertal type.

A FORTHCOMING PREHISTORIC CONGRESS.

The British Organizing Committee desire to bring to the notice of Archæologists the First International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, which will be held in London from August 1st—6th, 1932. The Congress will be divided into sections, the third of which deals with the Neolithic, Bronze and Early Iron Ages in Ancient World. Historical civilizations will only be dealt with in so far as the material is auxiliary to prehistoric studies or is treated according to their methods. The British Organizing Committee cordially invite the co-operation of archæologists engaged in research in Egypt and the Near East, more especially those interested in the relations of the Near East with the Ancient Mediterranean World and the area of the Caucasus and South Russia. Agenda and invitations will gladly be sent on application to the Secretary of the British Organizing Committee, Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.1.

THE FIVE CITIES OF THE PLAIN (Genesis XIV).

By Père Mallon, *Director of Excavations at Teleilat Ghassul.*[1]

It was only in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries that the explorers, in particular Reland and de Saulcy, put forward anew the idea of submersion. Then the geologists interfered and they finally gave a scientific basis to the question. They have no difficulty in proving that in prehistoric times the sea covered all the Jordan Valley and that it retreated little by little to its present confines. There is no longer, then, any question of making it appear to have filled the valley in the time of Abraham.

Writers are now divided. Some, especially English and American explorers, have returned to the tradition of (1) the North, and have placed the Pentapolis in the same region as the ancients, not far from the Dead Sea, between the Jordan and the Mountains of Moab. The others have changed to (2) the South. (3) Some German commentators have placed two towns to the North, Adama and Seboim, and have left the other three in the South.

The Roman Catholics have adopted for the most part the opinion that it was in the South, won over by two names, (*a*) Zoar, which they continued to identify with Segor, and (*b*) Jebel Usdum, a salt mountain to the South-West which has preserved the name of Sodom. Now (*a*) Zoar as we have already said, is Roman and can in no way be assigned to the epoch of Abraham.[2] (*b*) As for the name Jebel Usdum, it was never brought into the arguments by the ancients and for a very good reason. In the first centuries, indeed, the name Sodom (Sodomite, Sodomitide) was applied to the whole district of Pentapolis, to the whole region of the sea and all the mountains, which surround the asphalt lake.[3] It was only much later that the name was restricted to the salt mountain in the South West. Just like the plant which one calls "Jordan apples," this lonely and barren mountain remains as a symbol of ancient curses.

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[1] The following article, which is translated by Jean Rome Duncan, M.A., and contributed by the Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, B.D., is supplementary of the two published by E. Power, S.J., in *Studia Biblica* and based on the more recent excavation of Teleilat Ghassul.

[2] After the Exploration of the American School for Research. cf. Note 7.

[3] προσαγορεύουσιν αὐτοὺς (ἅλας) Σοδομενοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν περιεχύτων τὴν λίμνην ὀρῶν ἃ καλε̃ιται Σοδομάι (Galen, *De Simplicium Medicamentorum Facultatibus*, IV. 19).

Some may have been more or less influenced too, by the opinion of the German geologist Blankenhorn who, assuming a nucleus of truth in what he plainly calls "the legend of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah,"[4] has recently formed the hypothesis of a geological catastrophe, which would have produced the formation of new valleys, the appearance of the salt mountain and finally the destruction of the accursed towns. We are apt, however, to neglect an essential fact in this hypothesis. Blankenhorn presupposes a sudden catastrophe ; while for the great geologists it is a question not of a sudden cataclysm but of a slow movement of the soil in prehistoric times. Here are his words : "The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is an event of the alluvial or post-glacial epoch."[5]

We can see a distinction here. The movements of the soil in prehistoric times are the proper domain of geology and we must not interfere there : but the destruction of the towns in the time of Abraham as recorded by the Bible is a historical fact which does not concern geology. The personal opinion of Blankenhorn on the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is irreconcilable with the Catholic faith and the Holy Scriptures.

Moreover, when we come to consider the location of each town, we find that different authorities name different sites. (1) Some would place one of them under the waters of the southern shore of the sea, and the other four towns near the eastern shore. (2) Dalman, an expert in Palestinian topography, is careful to point out that it is more reasonable to search, not in the middle of the valley in the low and boggy parts, but to the East, on the height towards the mountain, in a well-aired place.[6]

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[4] "Das Sagenhafte Ereignis des Untergangs von Sodom und Gomorrha." *Handbuch der regionalen geologie*, V. 4, *Syrien, Arabien, und Mesopotamien* (1914) p. 60.

[5] "Entstehung und Geschichte des Toten Meres," in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palæstina-Vereins*, XIX. (1896), p. 51. In a recent article *ib.* LIV. (1931), p. 44, the author maintains his opinion, placing the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah "towards the end of the diluvium" at the beginning of the "alluvium" or of the "Neolithic period," a geological phase which produced the last volcanic activity. The Diluvium refers to the deposit when the sea coved the whole Jordan Valley.

[6] *Palästina-jahrbuch*, IV. (1908), p. 86.

Consequently he suggests the following sites for the five towns: Ghor-el-Feifeh and El-Khneizireh for Zoar, the city nearest the mountain, according to the Bible; Seil-el-Qurahi for Sodom; and Ghor-el-Numera, Ghor-el-Meseitbeh and Ghor-el-Megraa for the three others.[7]

This is, of course, a mere possibility in the mind of the author, since every indication makes it wrong.

Again, the American expedition of which we spoke above, led by Dr. Albright, searching the whole region South-East and South of the Dead Sea from Ghor el-Mezraa to Ghor el-Feifeh, did not find anywhere the ruins of ancient towns which could go back to the time of Abraham. It was the special aim of this expedition to find and to study the traces of the Pentapolis, chiefly of Zoar, which up till then had been the pivot of the Southern theory. As an eye-witness, the author of these lines can vouch for it that the researches conducted by Dr. Albright, then Director of the American School in Jerusalem, present all the guarantees of the most minute and careful investigation.[8]

This fact is of the greatest importance and alters the complexion of the problem. For the Southern hypothesis there remains but one escape, to place the five towns in the southern basin of the sea. This would be a new position, in contradiction of those least partial to the opinion of all the ancients, a position which would remain of course, purely hypothetical, since it rests on no positive evidence.

It is improbable in itself, for the reason given above by Dalman, that this position is irreconcilable with geology; since for this it would be necessary to suppose that the Southern basin was dry in the time of Abraham, and formed a plain of sufficient elevation to offer security to the towns people wished to build there. It would be necessary also to suppose that a catastrophe happened after the destruction of the Pentapolis by fire as narrated in the Bible, and that this cataclysm caused the plain to sink and the waters of the Northern basin to invade it.

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[7] *Palästina-jahrbuch*, IV. *Loc. cit.* p. 85.

[8] For this journey see *Biblica* V. (1924), pp. 438-450; by Kyle and Albright, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LXXXI, (1924), p. 276-291. See also *Annual of the American School*, VI 57-58. In consequence Dr. Albright has placed three towns in the Southern basin and the other two in the Northern basin.

This explanation is therefore inadmissible. There can be no question here of invoking the catastrophe which Blankenhorn places in prehistoric times, and any volcanic activity in the time of Abraham, followed by the sinking of the plain is unknown to the geologists.

The careful study of the Eastern shore of the Southern Basin shows that this basin dates much earlier than Abraham. This examination was made in the Spring of 1931 by P. Koeppel and it is his conclusion that we write here :—

> "This section of the coast does not present in any part the indications of a geological falling which could be attributed to prehistoric times, nor of a sliding or sinking of soil. It possesses no terraces and deltas like those of the Northern basin, and bears witness to a slow formation, which excludes the intervention of any cataclysm. On the other hand, the basin could not have been formed by the action of the water during the 2,000 years which separate Abraham from the Christian era. Although less deep than that of the Northern, the basin of the Southern dates from prehistoric times."

This conclusion of Koeppel's has been adopted by M. Picard, geologist of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and by the German geologist Blankenhorn. The latter has since written in a private letter, which he has kindly authorised me to publish : "I completely agree with you that this part of the lake, with the terraces and deltas of the Eastern shore, goes back more than 4,000 years."[9]

This does not imply an absolute fixity of the shore, and one can admit for historic times a certain amount of advance, or on the contrary retreat, of the water, chiefly from the coast of Sebkha to the South point ; but nobody will dream of placing on this narrow sandy shore the five towns of which the Bible tells us in the story of Lot and Abraham.

We think, therefore, that the time has come to review our position. Recent discoveries have altered the problem. The hypothesis of the South no longer seems to us tenable. (*a*) It is not clearly indicated by any Biblical Text ; (*b*) it has lost its chief prop—the identification of Zoar with Segor ; (*c*) it is opposed to archæology which does not recognise the ruins of ancient towns in this region, and (*d*) to geology, which teaches us that the Southern basin as it stands already existed in the time of Abraham.

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[9] This agrees perfectly with the hypothesis of the great geologist referred to above, since the catastrophe which he has in view belongs to prehistoric times. A periodic change in the level of the water, varying from one to two metres, has been proved over the entire compass of the sea. To the North, and to the South of the Peninsula of Lisan, a strip of land bearing trees is annually submerged.

On the other hand, we cannot see what objection one could raise to placing them in the North, and in this "Plain of Jordan" (Genesis XIII. 10), which the Bible clearly indicates, and in which archæology shows us several ruins of the time of Abraham complying with the conditions required for the Pentapolis.[1]

[1] [Owing to lack of space we are reluctantly compelled to hold over an article which the Rev. Garrow Duncan has contributed on Father Mallon's excavations, together with a notice of some remarkable inscribed objects, the true character and significance of which are now occupying various archæologists.—Ed.]

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Committee regret to announce the death of the Right Rev. Rennie MacInnes, D.D., Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, which occurred suddenly on December 24th, 1931, when he was on holiday at his home, Dykesfield, Cumberland. Bishop MacInnes succeeded the late Bishop Blyth in 1914, and was a member of the P.E.F. and of its General Committee. Many will remember the useful handbook on Palestine which he wrote for the use of the troops there during the war.

Annual No. 5 contains Mr. Crowfoot's report on his work at Ophel and the Tyropoeon Valley during the excavating season of 1927. He was assisted by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, Assistant-Director of the British School of Archæology, who has written the second part of the book dealing with the pottery and smaller finds, while Mr. Crowfoot describes the buildings and levels, analysing the stratification of the site from the earliest times to the Arab Conquest and the Crusading period. The volume contains as frontispiece the Old Gate from the north-west, 22 other plates, and 21 illustrations, there are 131 pages of letterpress and an index. Price 31s. 6d. to non-members.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archæology in Egypt dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

Antiques for Sale.—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

Miss C. M. Finn has kindly presented to the Fund seven pieces of Archaic Greek pottery, five vases of which are certified by the British Museum as Corinthian ware dating from the seventh century, B.C. Miss Finn instructs that they be offered for sale, and that the proceeds be devoted to the work of the Fund. Interested collectors are invited to call at 2, Hinde Street, and inspect them.

The new plan of Jerusalem on a scale of approximately 1 : 5,000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5s. ; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9s. The latter form is the more convenient, as owing to its size the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

Churches at Jerash.—A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928-1930, by J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A., has been published as Supplementary Paper No. 3 by the Council of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, and can be obtained at 2, Hinde Street. Price 5s. The reduced price to members of the P.E.F. or B.S.A.J. is 2s. 6d.

The library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains some duplicate volumes. They may be purchased, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found on p. 59*f*.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions from :—

	£	s.	d.
Miss E. M. Courthope	4	0	0
Frank Fremlin, Esq.	5	0	0
Mrs. Traquair (for equal division P.E.F. and B.S.A.J.)	10	0	0
Mrs. W. D. White	5	5	0

The Annual Report of the Palestine Exploration Fund, with Accounts and List of Subscriptions for 1931 is issued with this number.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £15 15s. Subscriber's price £14 14s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5 except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East, February 11 : Hebrew songs of Palestine.
The Journal of Egyptian Archæology.
Scottish Geographical Magazine.
The Expository Times, February. Recent Biblical Archæology, by Rev. J. W. Jack.
The New Judœa.

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1930. (Washington, 1931). Preliminary report on the en-Nasbeh excavations, by W. F. Badè; Recent progress in the field of Old World Pre-history, by G. G. MacCurdy.

American Journal of Philology.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, December.

The Museum Journal: University of Pennsylvania, xxii-3-4. Excavations at Fara, 1931, by Erich Schmidt; excavations at Ur, 1930-1, by C. L. Woolley.

Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament, i. Genesis—ii. Samuel. By M. Sprengling, and W. C. Graham (Chicago Oriental Instit., vol. xiii.)

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (*New York*).

Jewish Quarterly Review, January.

The Homiletic Review.

Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, xi. (1929-30). Jerash-Gerasa, 1930, by C. S. Fisher and C. C. McCown; second campaign at Jerash, by C. S. Fisher, etc.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, December. The Aramaic inscription relating to Uzziah, by W. F. Albright; news from the school in Jerusalem; The Summer Institute in Palestine.

Anatolia through the Ages: Discoveries at the Alishar Mound, 1927-29. By Erich F. Schmidt. (Chicago Oriental Institute.)

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique, 1931, i.

Syria, xii, 1, 2. The caravan route between Palmyra and Hit in the 2nd cent. A.D., by R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard; Palmyrene texts from the temple of Bel, by J. Cantineau; Arabic texts from the same, by J. Sauvaget; Persian art at Burlington House, by A. Bey Sakisian; etc. xii, 3. A Phœnician poem from Ras Shamra, by C. Virolleaud; the vocabularies by F. Thureau-Dangin; Apropos of Atargatis, by P. Pedrizet; The Roman *limes*, by P. Poidebard.

Revue Biblique, October. Abraham in the framework of history, by P. Dhorme; the description of the physical aspect of Jesus by Josephus, by F. M. Braun; the Nazareth inscription on the violation of tombs, by R. Tonneau; Apropos the Strata Diocletiana, by M. Dunand, etc. January, 1932, the Metrology of the Bible (concluded), by A. Barrois; Exploration of the south-east of the Valley of the Jordan, by F.-M. Abel; a Greek-Hebrew inscription from Otranto, by J.-B. Frey.

Journal Asiatique, April-June, 1931. The true name of the Indo-European Hittites, by B. Hrozny; the Kanisian language, by L. H. Gray.

Biblica, xiii, 1. The northern border of Benjamin, by A. Fernandez (in Spanish); recent publications on the excavations in Palestine, by A. Mallon.

Archiv Orientalni, iii, 3. The rearing and training of horses among the Indo-Europeans of the XIVth Cent. B.C., by B. Hrozny.

Litteræ Orientalis (Harrassowitz, Leipzig), xlix. The use of Aramaic in the Achæmenid empire, by O. G. von Wesendonk.

Archiv für Orientforschung, vii, 4. Clay figurines of weeping mourners, by W. F. v. Bissing; the Syro-Mesopotamian god Shulman-Eshmun and related figures by W. F. Albright.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, December, 1931. A new Hyksos king, by W. Wreszinski. (See Notes and Queries, p. 104). January, 1932. The significance of the art of Asia, by Z. v. Takacs.

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäolog. Inst., Athäenische Abt., lv., 1930.

The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, i, 3. Street levels in the Tyropœon Valley, by R. W. H.; Excavations at Pilgrim's Castle (Athlit), by C. N. J.; Coins in the Palestinian Museum, by C. L.; Bibliography of excavations in Palestine (*concluded*).

Bible Lands, January. The ethical system of Judaism, by Canon Danby. The Haram at Hebron.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, November. Notes on Exodus, by B. M. Bella.

Al-Mashrik, January. Syria at the time of the Arab Conquest, by P. Lammens.

From Mr. Pilcher: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Isräliten.* (Leipzig, 1837).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems* (1890).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath* already in the Library; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identification and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of——— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE EXPEDITION TO SAMARIA—SEBUSTIYA. THE FORUM THRESHING FLOOR AREA.*

By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A.

On the west side of Sebustiya there is a broad level stretch of land between the village and the ruins of the so-called basilica. This area, which measures nearly 130 m. from east to west and about 85 m. from north to south, is now occupied by the threshing floors of the villagers ; in the Roman period part of it was almost certainly the site of the forum which was a large open rectangle surrounded by colonnades on all sides. The level has changed very little since Roman days : from east to west and from north to south the surface is only broken by the low ridges which divide the threshing floors from one another, at the west end about a metre and a half of debris has accumulated above the floor of the colonnade, at the east end the present surface is a few centimetres below the old one.

From the archaeologist's standpoint as a field for excavation this area has two drawbacks. It is so close to the village that it was probably the first place to be systematically pillaged for building material, and there is consequently so little accumulation that little of the forum can remain except the foundations. Secondly, it is now parcelled out among a multitude of small owners ; there is hardly anyone in the village who has not a share in some part of it and the native feels a peculiar sentiment about his threshing floor, the place where his harvest of grain and beans lies, which he is not slow to translate into terms of cash : on practical grounds, moreover, it is admittedly bad for a threshing floor to be broken up, the people point to one dug by our predecessors more than twenty years ago which has not yet recovered. In consequence we found that except at the south-west corner which belonged to good friends, it was only after much haggling that we secured permission to sink some exiguous trenches which were measured out metre by metre. The difficulties about this site are therefore considerable while the promise is small, and we were only tempted to work here by the hope of solving the problems raised by the great Israelite wall which we discovered near by last April. The results we are glad to say have been more satisfactory than might have been expected.

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* The Plans which illustrate this report are the work of Mr. T. Pinkerfeld and Mr. N. Reiss.

Our predecessors fortunately planned the area at a time when there was much more above the surface than is now visible. Twenty years ago there were several stones of the eastern enclosure wall still standing and these enabled Schumacher and Fisher to measure the total area, and construct a sketch plan of the original building. Excavation then was confined to parts immediately adjoining the basilica ; here about two-thirds of the west colonnade of the forum and one bay on the north side were cleared. During the last autumn we have cleared the south-west corner, and made six soundings in other parts of the area, one on the north side—Bz, one in the north-west quarter east of the west colonnade—Bx, three along the south side of the forum—Bm, Bn and Bo, and one still further south below the terrace wall of the most southerly threshing floor—Bp.

Dr. Fisher (I, p. 211) describes the site as " a large, fairly level, natural terrace," but its present appearance does not give any idea really of the original natural features : this level expanse like other level areas in Sebustiya is an artificial creation. It lies about midway between the summit and the valley below the mosque and so far as we can tell the ridge originally ran along the north half of our site sloping very gently towards the east ; the broken contour of this ridge was converted into the level plain we see to-day by a series of operations undertaken at different times, far the most considerable of them being those undertaken in the Roman period by the builders of the forum. At the east end these builders raised the level by an embankment, at the west end they reduced the rock slightly in height, and on the north and south parallel retaining terrace walls were built on either side of the ridge to create an adequate platform. These walls were of some magnitude, the retaining wall under the south colonnade being in one place over 6 m. high, but the site had a long history before and after the Roman period.

The whole area lay certainly within the limits of the Israelite city ; the confirmation of this fact, of which our discoveries last spring gave the first inkling, is perhaps the most valuable result of the autumn campaign. At the south-west corner we found the remains of a great Israelite wall running from north to south exactly parallel to the *short* length of walling which we found last spring in the Hakurat el-Baidar 12 m. to the west. It was constructed in the same method but it was not so well preserved (see Plate 3). The foundation course which was followed for 13.5 m. consisted of large stones laid in a rock-cut trench measuring 3.5 m. from side to side. Of the course above the foundation only a small section remained in position : it included two facing blocks, a stretcher and a header, both dressed in the usual Israelite fashion with drafted margins on three sides only, that on the top side being the wider. The stones in this first course rested immediately on a packing of small stones and earth, although several blocks in the foundation course look as if they had been specially dressed to receive them ; a similar packing was observed also in the short length of walling to the west mentioned above but nowhere else so far as we know. Beyond the last of the foundation stones the empty rock-cut trench was followed for another 6.5 m., but at this point the rock suddenly dropped and the end of both trench and wall had evidently collapsed over the edge of the hill-side. This wall is identical in construction with the walls previously found and it is exactly parallel to one of them ; there can be no doubt, therefore, that it forms part of the same building, and this building we take to have been a massive tower abutting on the city wall. Anyone who looks up at the position of such a tower from below, from the columned street, will realise what an important point it must have been in any scheme for the defence of the upper city.

Our trench was extended for fifteen metres east of the wall just described, but later building activities have obliterated further trace of Israelite building at this point : we cannot say, therefore, whether this tower flanked a gate or not. In a sounding, Bn, 65 m. to the east, however, we came upon another rock trench with a few typically Israelite stones still lying in it ; one of the stones lay under the foundation wall of the forum stylobate, and the rock trench ran south for 5.1 m. across the width of the south colonnade turning at right angles to the west approximately under the line of the forum enclosure wall. Several Israelite potsherds were found in this sounding, and there was a floor of beaten yellow earth with fragments of charcoal in it on the west of the rock trench. If, as we suppose, the Israelite city wall continued here along the first natural terrace below the ridge, this trench probably held the foundations of a bastion on the wall.

On the north side of the forum area the rock is much closer to the surface. Dr. Fisher shows on his plan (II, 12) three fragments of Israelite building north of the basilica and describes a trench with Israelite building under the basilica (I, p. 165). We uncovered the larger of the three northern fragments and satisfied ourselves that it was of the Israelite period ; the trench under the basilica we found continuing 17.3 m. east of the forum wall. The stones lying in this trench are not so large or so regular as those in the trenches on the south, but Israelite potsherds were found here and there is no reason why it should not belong to some building within the fortified zone.

There is conclusive evidence, therefore, that the Israelite city included the greater part of the threshing floor area and that no serious effort was made in Israelite times to modify the natural configuration. The Israelite wall was built below the crest of the ridge, and the dressed facing blocks at the south-west corners and the beaten floor in Bn. show that in places along this side the level of occupation was from 4 to 6 metres below the Roman level.

Great quantities of post-Israelite or Hellenistic pottery, similar to that found in the lowest strata on the Summit, were turned up in our soundings under the south colonnade of the forum, and at the south-west corner above the empty trench of the Israelite wall we found a large batch of inscribed Rhodian jar-handles, the rim of a brazier decorated with three demon heads of the 2nd century B.C., and several Ptolemaic and Seleucid coins. The only buildings which may possibly be assigned to this period are some extremely poor foundation walls under the south colonnade (Bn.), and secondly a continuation in the north-west quarter of the forum (Bx.) of the enigmatic foundations discovered by our predecessors under the basilica. These foundations certainly belong to some public building of importance, and Dr. Fisher may be right in identifying them tentatively as the foundations of a temple. But the most interesting fact about this building, whatever it may be, is that it is set out on the same axis as the later forum, and the wretched foundation walls found under the south colonnade are also aligned like the forum and not like the Israelite walls. The buildings of this period, therefore, though they may have been completely buried by the Herodian revival of Samaria, exercised an enduring influence on the lay-out of our site.

From east to west the Roman forum measured 128 m. according to Dr. Fisher, this figure being based on the line of walling which has now disappeared ; from north to south it measured about 72.5 m. It is not quite rectangular, as Dr. Fisher points out, but the planning was very careful, the width of the colonnade and the spacing of the columns hardly varying at all where they can be checked.

At the north-west corner our predecessors uncovered the remains of the stylobate and the foundation of the terrace wall opposite. Some 15 m. further east (Bz.) we were fortunate in finding two of the upper courses of the terrace wall still in position for a distance of nearly 30 m. The top course was composed entirely of stretchers, the second entirely of headers, and both were about 53 cm. high. All the stones in these two courses were drafted on all four sides, the bottom margin usually being the widest ; the bosses vary very much in projection. The masonry below these courses is similar to that illustrated by Dr. Fisher (I ill. 137), and it is obvious that it was not intended to be seen. Rock was reached 4.1 m. below the top course and in the earth we removed there were hardly any potsherds later than the first century B.C., which in itself suggests that there was from the beginning an earth bank or terrace which reached up to the bottom of the drafted courses. A similar combination of similarly drafted masonry with much rougher concealed foundational work is to be seen also at the West Gate and on the town wall south of Karam el-Sheikh, and all three probably belong to the same period.

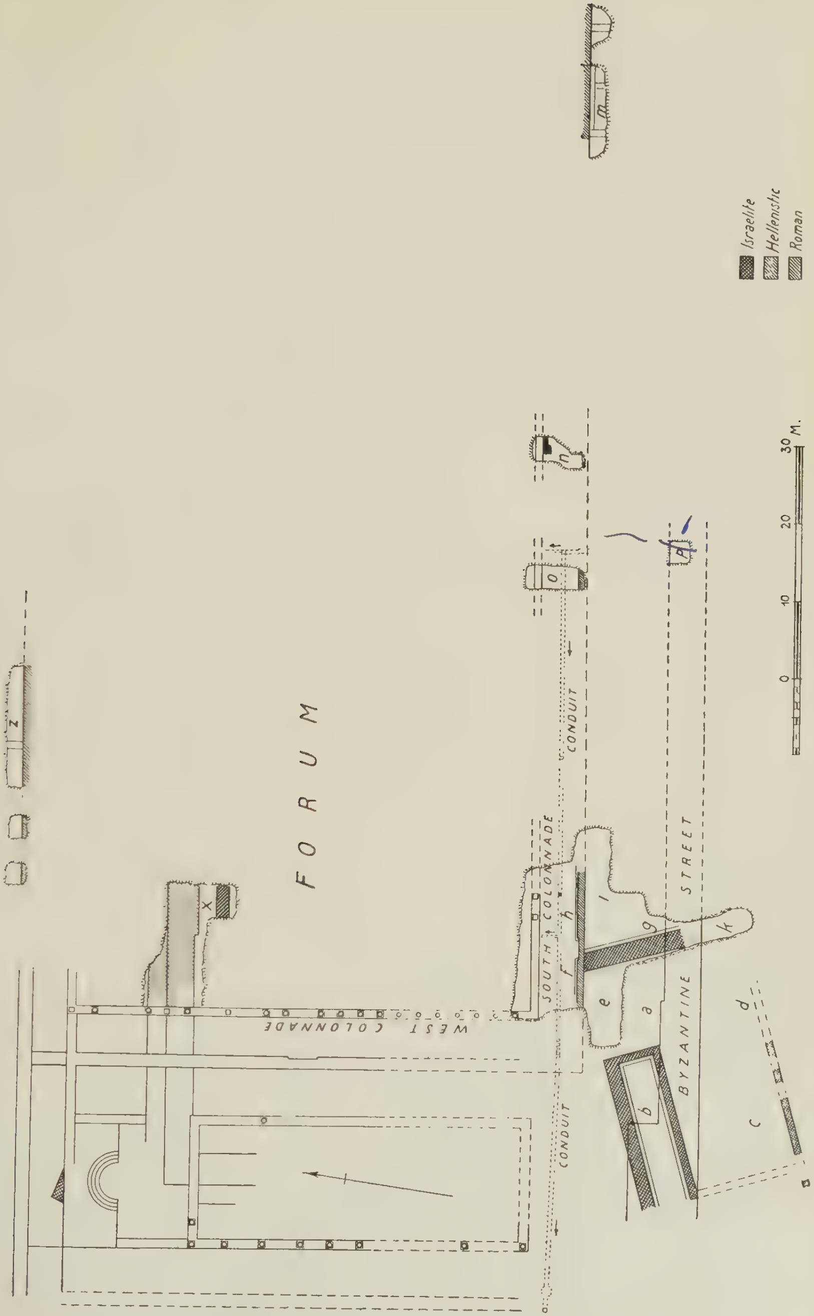
On the south side of the forum parts of the enclosure wall were found still standing more than a metre high above the original paving for a distance of some 15 m. (Plates IV and V). On the inner side the foundation course which is of large well-dressed stones projects about 30 cm. on approximately the same level as the stylobate ; at the west end this course rests directly on the rock, further east where the rock drops it rests on rubble. The wall above was built of unbossed stones, each course composed of alternating headers and stretchers, the headers spanning the full width of the wall—90 cm. ; the first course was 55 cm. high, the second 56 cm., and the stones were laid in lime-mortar. In the section cleared there is a break in which only the foundation course remains, and the fact that this break corresponds with a change in the level of the courses for a short distance on each side of it suggests that there may have been an entrance here. This entrance would be opposite to the fourth and fifth pedestals on the stylobate and it happens to be exactly above the line of the Israelite wall.

Most of the stylobate opposite to this section of the wall is still in position, there is no intermediate pavement left and all the pedestals including that at the corner have disappeared with the exception of two which were originally the sixth and seventh on the line: these two are now joined by a late rubble wall like that found by our predecessors on the west side. East of this the level drops and it is impossible that any more pedestals can remain in position; the stylobate was found still intact in Bo, but in Bn. only the foundation wall and the stones immediately below the stylobate remain. The foundations below the stylobate in Bo. and Bn. were of the same character as the foundation of the enclosure wall on the north side; in both they were carried down to the rock, which was 4 m. below the stylobate in Bo. and 6 m. in Bn, figures which give some idea of the amount of artificial embankment below the level platform on this side (Plate VI). This embankment was not wholly the work of the Romans. About 2 m. below the floor level of the colonnade there was evidence of an earlier level of occupation which was cut through by the constructional trench used by the builders of the forum, and below this earlier level there were remains of poor walls above the Israelite rock trench. One of these poor walls lay under the line of the forum enclosure wall but separated from the foundations of it by a metre of debris. The ground, therefore, had risen before the forum was built some 4 metres above the Israelite level, which was close to the rock.

At the east end of the south side within the limits of the forum, as defined by Fisher, we examined the south wall of a massive building which differs in character from those we found elsewhere. Three regular courses are in position, the top course entirely composed of headers about 68 cm. high, the next of stretchers about 73 cm. high, and the bottom one of headers about the same height. The two upper courses have weathered badly, the stones in the bottom course have drafted margins but no bosses; a late cistern and other buildings have been constructed against the foundations below these courses and rock was not yet reached at this point. It is impossible, therefore, to say much about the character of this building but it was evidently more monumental in style than those further west; it is in the same line as the forum.

A great water conduit running under the western half of the south colonnade and continuing at least up to the west line of the basilica was the most surprising discovery made in this area. We came upon it first through a man-hole which opened in the floor of the colonnade near the south-west corner of our area—Bg. The bottom of the conduit lay 3.5 metres below floor level at this point, and the conduit was built entirely in a broad and deep excavation in the rock. The side walls of the conduit were about 1.25 m. high, the passage between them about 53 cm. wide but contracted toward the bottom by a cemented trough; it was roofed with inclined slabs, the height inside from the bottom of the gutter to the top of the roof being 1.6 m. The bottom was graded gently but regularly with a fall from east to west. To the west of the man-hole the built conduit continued for nearly 20 m.: at this point there was a short descent excavated wholly in the rock, and then the passage continued for more than 30 m. as a tunnel in the rock to open finally in a small circular vaulted chamber lined with well-cut masonry; the rock-cut channel continued 1.5 m. further to another man-hole beyond which the passage was blocked with debris. East of the man-hole by which we first entered it the conduit was clear for some 40 m., a third man-hole being passed on the way, but the passage was then filled with earth and we had to enter it from above in Bo. Here the bottom of the conduit was practically on rock level, and the passage after continuing east for some 4 m. turned at right angles to the south. At the turn there was a small square settling tank under a fourth man-hole, and in the next section the roof had unfortunately given way: we reached an arch nearly 2 m. south of the tank but further progress underground was impossible and we cannot say in what direction the conduit continued. We tried to strike it in an adjoining garden (Bp.), but failed, so we are inclined to think that it turns again to the east. The total length explored was over 100 m. and in this length there were two gutters, both on the north side and both dropping towards the north, carrying water therefore not to, but from, the main conduit. The direction of these gutters, the westward inclination of the main channel, the depth to which it was carried in the rock, the number of man-holes, and the absence of any accumulation over the greater part of its length, are all evidences that it was a conduit and not a sewer. It is admirably built : the corners of the inclined roofing blocks are bevelled so as to meet on an 18 cm. broad face and to rest on a 13 cm. broad face on the side walls, not like those in a tunnel on the Summit drawn by Fisher (I, p. 189, illustration 109) : it is in fact a very competent piece of engineering, certainly one of the most interesting examples of Roman engineering which has been found in Palestine. We hope some day to find out from what springs the Romans drew their water, whether from Nablus, as it has been reported, or from the springs at Nakura which supply the present inhabitants.

Our unsuccessful search for the continuation of the conduit in Bp. laid bare another fragment of the early Christian paved road which was found in the Hakūrat el-Baidar. This road, which was very well paved, was exactly parallel to the line of the south forum colonnade which, as we have seen, was also that of the Hellenistic period. On both sides of the street we found houses in the earlier excavation, and in the autumn campaign we found remains of intensive occupation on the north side, lasting on into the Arab period when, however, there were several departures from the old alignment. There was a well-preserved oil-press of a type which is still in common use ; the large circular drum in which the screw revolved, the grooved floor-slabs, and the stone vessel into which the oil poured were all in position. Near by there were several remains of a glass factory, and a Byzantine bath or vat rested immediately above the Israelite wall. It is unnecessary to ask why the relics of the earlier periods are so fragmentary, and why we failed to find clear evidence of the supposed Israelite gate.


FORUM
WEST COLONNADE
SOUTH COLONNADE
CONDUIT
CONDUIT
BYZANTINE STREET
Israelite
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Roman
0
10
20
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a
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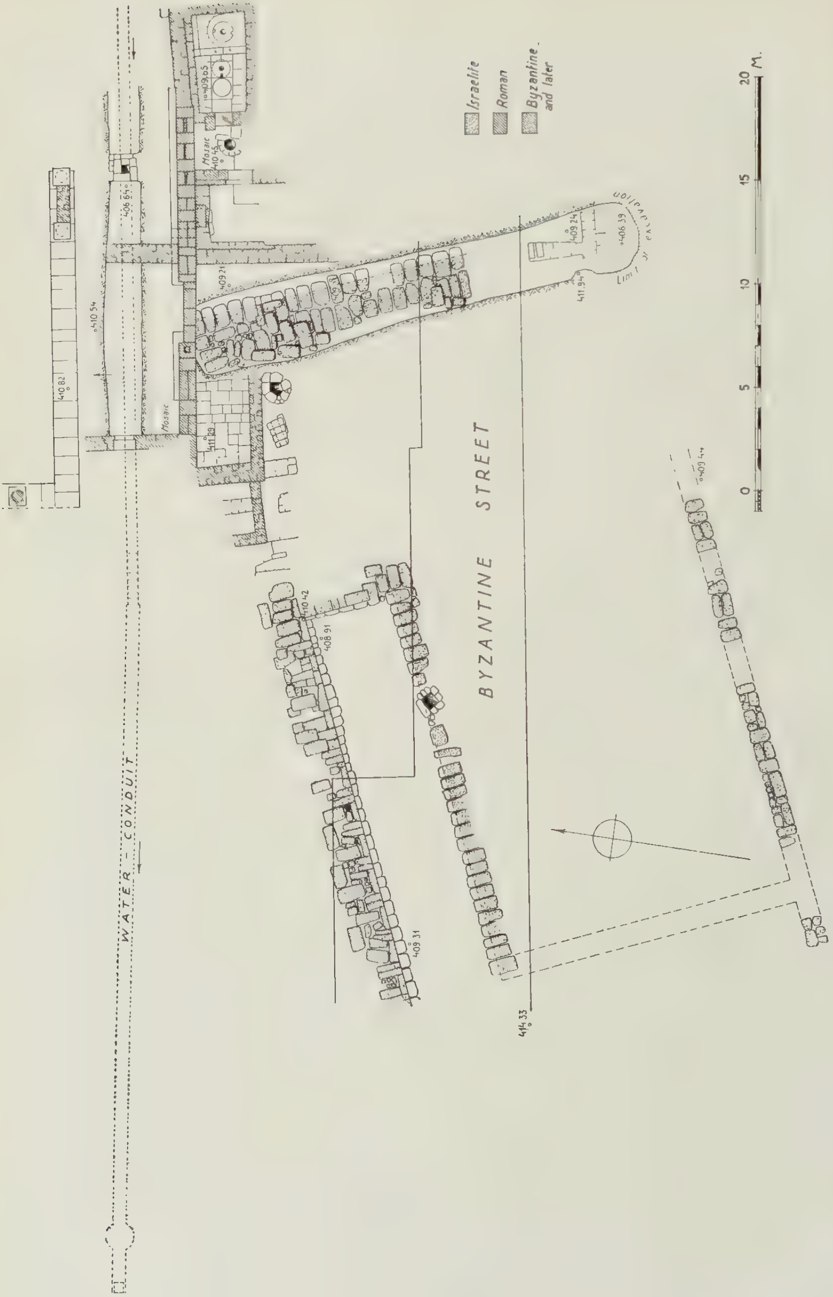
Samaria—Sebustiya: The Forum Threshing-floor Area, illustrating Excavations, Autumn, 1931.


Israelite
Roman
Byzantine and later
0
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20 M.
BYZANTINE STREET
WATER - CONDUIT
Mosaic
Mosaic
Limit of excavation
409.65
410.45
406.64
410.54
410.82
409.21
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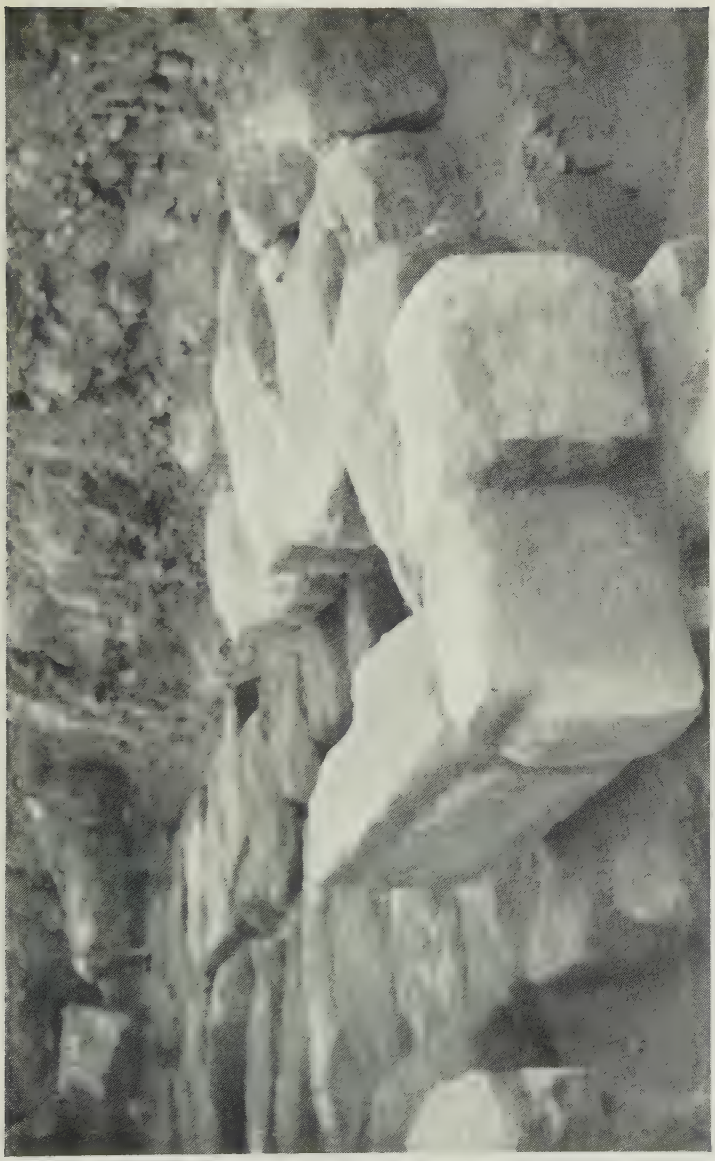
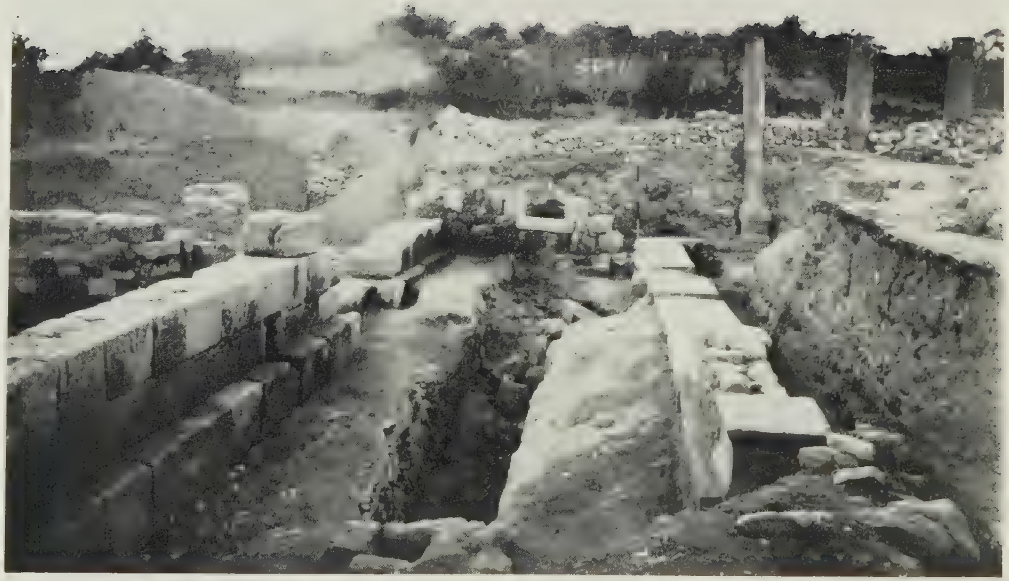
409.44
410.42
408.91
409.31
414.33

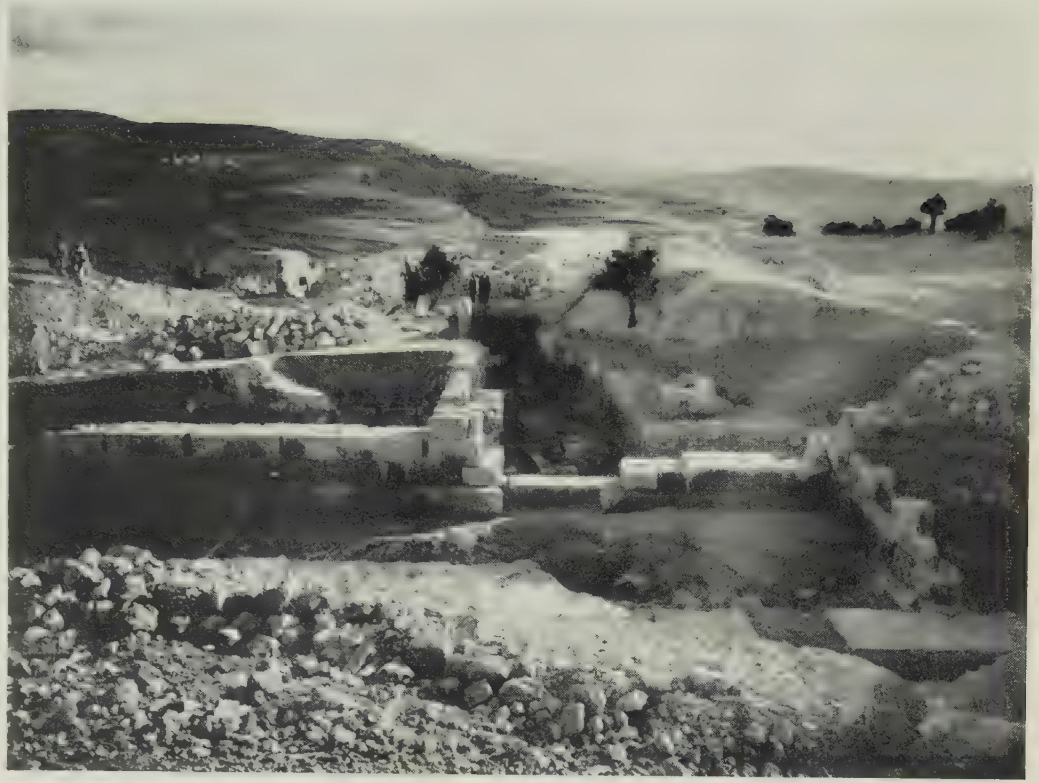
SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE FORUM THRESHING-FLOOR AREA.



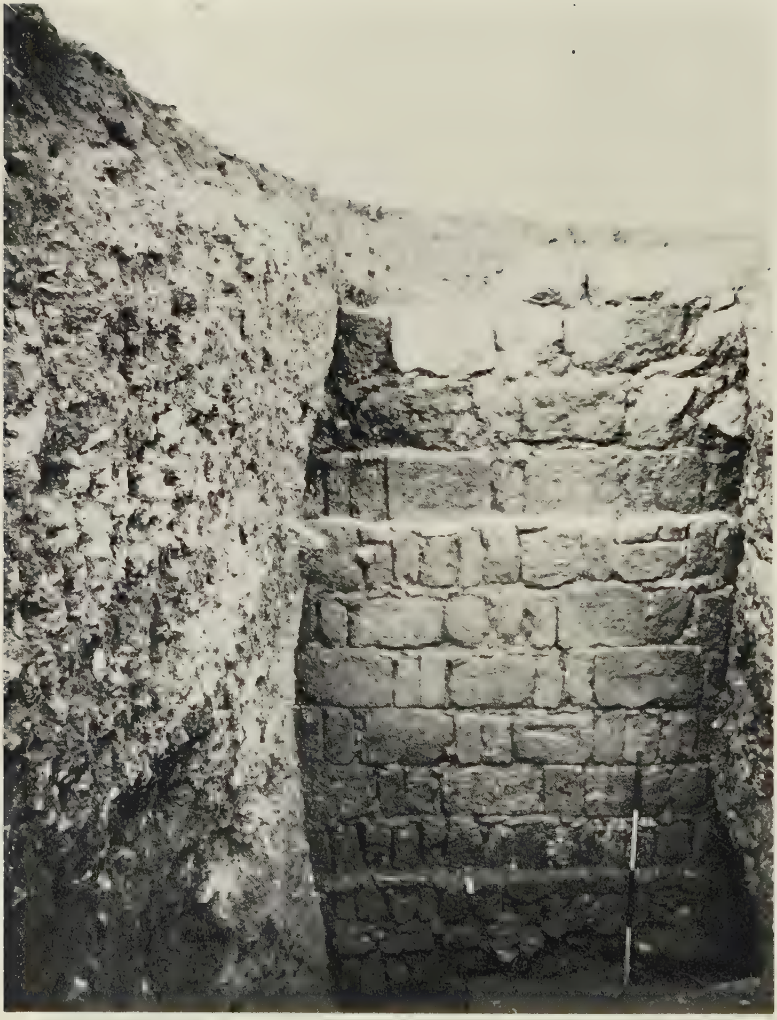
Samaria—Sebustiya: Israelite wall in B e. From the north-east.



SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF FORUM FROM THE EAST, SHOWING THE STYLOBATE OF THE COLONNADE AND THE ENCLOSURE WALL BETWEEN WHICH IS THE ROCK TRENCH OF THE CONDUIT. ONE MAN-HOLE APPEARING AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PICTURE.



South-west corner of Forum from the north, showing the south enclosure wall with the opening which may have been an entrance. The Israelite foundations appear beyond this opening.



Foundation of south colonnade of Forum, showing Israelite stones at the bottom. From the south.

PÈRE MALLON'S EXCAVATION OF TELEILAT GHASSUL.

By the Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, B.D.

Teleilat Ghassul lies in the centre of the plains of Moab (*'areboth Mōāb*, Numbers xxxiii, 48), roughly three-and-a-half miles north of the Dead Sea, three miles east of Jordan, and two-and-a-half miles west of the mountains of Moab.

It is one of the most ancient of the many Tells in this region, which indicate that in the Bronze Ages this district was much more densely populated than it is to-day. These mounds are composed almost entirely of accumulated debris, so that the towns which they represent were literally cities built on the plain. There is no natural elevation to speak of, and attention was drawn to them chiefly by the numerous fragments of pottery of very early date, flints, and other objects, scattered on the surface.

Excavation begun in 1929-1930, was continued last winter under the directorship of Père Mallon, of the Biblical Pontifical Institute of Jerusalem. Altogether, about 2,500 square metres or slightly less than ¾-acre, have been excavated in the southern Tell, with soundings here and there to define its limits. As Père Mallon explains it, the name Teleilat, a plural, means "small mounds," and Ghassul is from *ghassala*, "to wash," so called from the soda or plant used for washing, which covers the ruins.

The natural soil here is sand. The whole valley is, in fact, an ancient sea-floor composed of a heavy deposit of clay made while it was under the sea, on which lies a layer of sand 7-8 feet deep, deposited there at the same period. Above this is another layer of sand thrown up by the movement of the water as the sea retreated. This layer is alluvial, and is distinguished from the diluvial layer under it by the presence of small pebbles. The ruins thus rest on sand, alluvial or diluvial, for in some parts the alluvial layer has been removed by erosion before building had begun.

The deepest excavation reached the natural soil at about 18 feet. The Tell slopes on every side, in depth diminishing towards the circumference, till it fades away into the surrounding plain. To the south of the mound on the edge of the Wady Jarafa, suburbs (belonging to the latest occupation) were found, and, with these included, the whole ruin measures roughly "800 by 400 metres."

Excavation has shown that the mound contains four floors, separated from each other by only one metre of accumulated debris. As each floor is covered with a layer of ashes varying in depth, it is clear that this town had been destroyed by fire at four different periods with no great interval between: and on each occasion, the town had been rebuilt on the ashes of its predecessor.

These four floors were traced to the centre of the mound, but from there the depth of debris between them diminished till finally only two floors or levels could be distinguished.

Towns I and II, the two earliest occupations, had covered only the centre of the mound, while towns III and IV had been enlarged in the course of reconstruction, and covered a larger area. As the third floor is shallower and in parts scarcely distinguishable from the fourth, it appears that towns III and IV had been destroyed at a much shorter interval of time. The pottery found in the southern suburbs shows that they belonged to town IV, the latest occupation.

The pottery found belongs to the two periods, Neolithic and Early Bronze, and would thus fix the limits of occupation from prior to 2500 B.C. down to not later than 2200-2100 B.C. At the latter date town IV had been completely destroyed by fire, and the site had never been re-occupied. Eighteen to twenty feet of accumulated debris suggests in itself a long period of occupation.

Père Mallon thinks that levels III and IV show indications of the incipient stages of the II Bronze Age civilisation, and would fix the date of final destruction at about 1800. The only evidence for this he says, rests on the finding of pots with wide mouths or necks. If these are what we speak of as wide-mouth neckless meal or corn jars, they are not conclusive evidence of the II Bronze Age civilisation, as he himself admits. On the other hand, there is a complete absence of piriform vases and other types peculiar to the Hyksos period. There is, in fact, no trace of the presence of the Hyksos civilisation whatever.

Several objects in bronze, however, an axe "of archaic type," a fragment of another, seven broken spear-points, and several other undetermined fragments, were found in the uppermost level of town IV; and on these Père Mallon bases his conclusion that town IV subsisted till the early half of the II Bronze Age. This implies the assumption that bronze did not appear in this region earlier than 2000-1800 B.C. The date of the final destruction of town IV, therefore, depends on the date which we can assign to the first appearance of bronze in that region. Sir Flinders Petrie informs me that at Tell Ajjul bronze appears by 2100 B.C., and there also the Copper Age (when Early Bronze) is 3200 B.C. (V Dynasty).[1]

So far, therefore, as the evidence of pottery and bronze goes at this stage, there is not much ground for supposing that town IV was destroyed at a later date than 2100 B.C., and there is a strong presumption that this site was not occupied during the II Bronze period.

This is further confirmed by the total absence of metal in any form except on the very surface of the latest level. Bone and flint implements are found over all the strata. One hundred bone needles or pins and a thousand chisels, gouges and axes of bone or flint have been found. This profusion of bone and flint is not in itself conclusive, but taken along with the complete absence of copper and bronze is indicative of a very early date.

Bone continued to be used in Palestine down to a much later period. Flint also, as Bethpelet has proved, continued in use right down through the earliest Iron Age and even then Neolithic types were reproduced.

All that we can say of flint is that, as metals came in and became more easily procured, flint-working degenerated, and flint came to be used only where the people were unable to obtain metal, as in Southern Judea.

Père Mallon, who is a recognised authority on Flints, states in his unpublished report of these excavations that by the end of the II Bronze Age flint implements were reduced to a few types and changed in form. "The fan-shaped scraper became thicker and heavier ; the sickle became wider ; the chisel disappeared entirely, and the short thick-set knife was replaced by a fine long blade with two parallel edges."

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[1] One of these bronze fragments has been analysed at the Paris School of Mines at Mr. Neuville's request. The analysis gave 7 per cent. tin. A bronze ring from the Cave of Umm Gatafa, of which the upper stratum showed the same civilisation as Teleilat Ghassul had the same composition.

Now, town IV, the latest, has furnished three or four long blades of this kind, an insignificant number certainly, alongside of the mass of knives found with one sharp edge and blunt back, but perhaps an indication that at the time of its final destruction this town had reached the period of transition which would have ended in the civilisation of the II Bronze Age.

The two earliest occupations belong to the same period, Neolithic to Early Bronze, and the civilisation seems to be the same throughout the four strata. The bone work is the same. The flint work is the same, excepting the knives above mentioned found on the surface of town IV. The pottery is of characteristic Early Bronze types, *e.g.*, the horn-shape, the footed bowl, the spouted jug, the decoration, and above all the use of the comb.

In building, the same type of brick, hand-made without a mould, is used throughout. The walls of brick were laid on stone foundations, and in town IV the stone foundations rest on the old brick walls of its destroyed predecessor, town III.

The site, therefore, had been occupied by the same people during the whole of its history. The absence of Hyksos pottery proves that, if the Hyksos did destroy the town, they never occupied it.

The civilisation is obviously not local, but that of an immigrant people—the same as we find in all other sites examined, described as the Early Bronze or Copper Age, brought by the same people and supplanting the Cave-dweller civilisation. We generally speak of these immigrants as Amorites.

It is not inconsistent with the slender indications of the approaching II Bronze Age suggested by Père Mallon to conclude from the evidence that town IV, the latest occupation, was destroyed towards the end of the Early Bronze Age.

There can be no doubt that town IV sank in a vast conflagration. In Père Mallon's description—heaps of ashes, with broken and calcined stones fill the ruins and at points appear even on the surface.

Town III appears to have fallen in a similar manner. In the two earliest towns, some of the ash deposits are merely from hearths, but others lie in strata of varying depth as in towns III and IV. Further excavation must determine the nature of their destruction.

The ashes are very dirty and through the action of water have lost much of their original ingredients. Koeppel compares them with the ashes found in Jericho, Beth-shemesh, and Bet Mirsim. The analysis gave 70-90 per cent. of sand and the rest carbon. At Teleilat Ghassul there is also some vegetable matter.

In the lowest strata, as is natural, less carbon is found and the strata are shallower and more mixed.

The southern mound, of which we have been speaking, is separated from the North Tell by a slight depression of some width running east to west.

There had thus been two sister towns side by side, much as we find at the ruins of ancient Tiberias.

Examination has shown that these two towns were contemporary. The surface debris and the results of soundings in the North Tell show the same civilisation as found in the South Tell.

Traces of violent conflagration were found, layers of ashes succeeded by mud and debris, with methodical levelling and reconstruction.

Inscribed objects were found all over the four levels, from top to bottom of the Tell; but until more is known about them it will be wise to refrain from discussing them.

These objects consist of potsherds, pebbles, carved stones, seals and bricks. The greater number have been found so far in the uppermost level, for the reason that it has been most fully excavated. They bear signs or letters of a very crude character.

1. Potsherds. About 300 potsherds have been found bearing these crude marks. On some the inscription is broken where the sherd is broken, on others it is complete. The marks were not stamped on the soft clay, but incised on the outside of the complete vessel after baking ; and they occur all over the body of the pot, on the sides, base, handles, near the brim and at different heights. 150 of these bear only one "sign or picture." The others have 2, 3, 4 or at most 5 or 6. The same signs are frequently repeated on the same, and on other sherds. If genuine, these may be potters' marks, or perhaps the marks of the owners incised or scratched on the pot after purchase.

2. Stones and Seals. These are mostly complete and number about 170 : and may be grouped as follows :

(*a*) Seals, with one side polished for the signs and frequently a hole bored for suspension. These bear several signs and one has them incised on the end of a fossil (*actaea Solomonis*).

(*b*) Weapons and Tools. Two mace-heads and some rounded chisels.

(*c*) Stones and pebbles of various shapes—some used as picked up, others flattened and polished before incision. Some have one or two holes for suspension. One is unique—shaped like a locket and inscribed on both sides.

They vary in size from 1 to 10 centimetres. On the largest stones the inscription usually forms a picture, divided into two or three sections and surrounded by a notched edge framing.

3. Bricks and similar material.

(*a*) Bricks hand made, without a mould, bearing a large deep stamp impressed on the soft material.

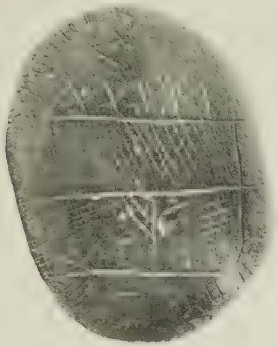
(*b*) Lumps of clay made in the form of stamps, hand-moulded and sun-dried, hard and tough. With only two exceptions the marks on these are the same as on the stones and potsherds.

On these Inscribed Objects Père Mallon remarks :

The number and variety of these inscribed objects indicate that they were in constant use and formed part of the daily life of the people. All the signs have a family likeness and form a well-characterised group. The straight line is the dominating element. Curves are very rare—a fact which is probably due to the material used being generally hard. The instrument used was doubtless a graving tool or a flint point.

Any study of them, while the excavations are uncompleted, must, of course, be provisional, but we note that as these inscribed objects are found in the very lowest stratum, they are, therefore, of great antiquity, and had been brought in by the original builders of the town, in their earliest forms at least, for development is observable as in the case of the pottery.

Père Mallon does not mention the exact depth at which any particular examples were discovered, but states that they were found in all four levels. He gives also a specimen of a small pendant with a mark like the Greek letter Psi and four punch holes round it from Tell Iktanu, "found at the same depth with Early Bronze pottery."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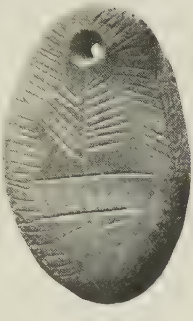
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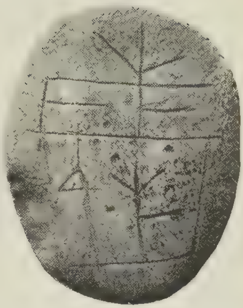
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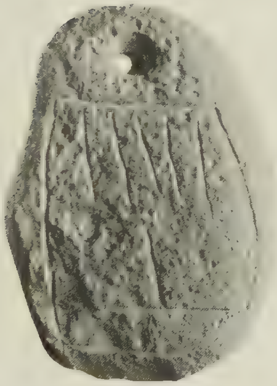
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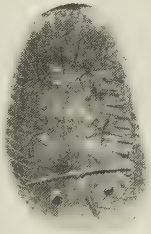
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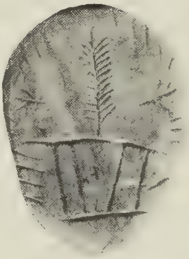
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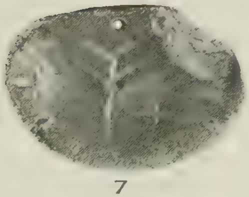
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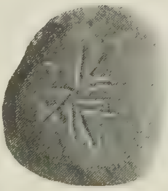
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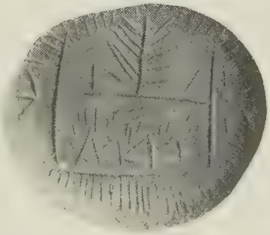
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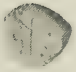
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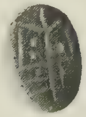
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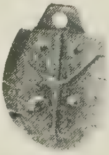
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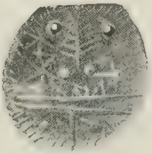
13

INSCRIBED STONES FROM TELEILAT GHASSUL.

Sir Flinders Petrie points out that these pebble marks are not comparable with any Egyptian marks. One can see partial resemblances to potters' marks of later date and lamp decoration of a still later period : but until further excavation and Père Mallon's full publication has appeared the matter must be left in abeyance.

Mr. Garrow Duncan writes very tentatively on the pebble marks, fuller information on which (depths at which they were found, analogies, etc.) is much to be desired. As he points out, several of them are more or less alike. The design on Nos. 1 and 9 might conceivably be a crude attempt to depict a boat with rowers, the opposite side being indicated by a tree. No. 12 was found at Tell Iktanu some distance away with Early Bronze Age pottery at the same depth as those from T. G. L. The design ψ is quite common, and the tree or branch runs down to Byzantine and Arab times. No. 4 looks rather local and recent, so also No. 3 ; No. 8 is unusual. The marks in some cases resemble those used by potters. Meanwhile Father Mallon appears to have no doubt that all are genuine attempts at writing of about 3000—2000 B.C. Selected illustrations of them have already appeared in the *Graphic* and in *Ancient Egypt*, and those which are reproduced here on the plate will suffice to give experts material to work upon. It may be added that Prof. Minns tentatively suggests that the typical design (as on No. 9) might represent an enclosure.—Ed.

THE "GREAT BURNINGS" OF MEIRON.[1]

By H. C. Luke, C.M.G., B.Litt.

In more than one respect is Palestine a land of contrasts. Climatically it probably affords greater diversity within its 10,000 square miles than any other territory of its size, for, although its loftiest mountain is not more than 4,000 feet high, it possesses in the subtropical Jordan valley the lowest depression in the earth's surface. In civilisation it runs the gamut between the primitive, patriarchal conditions of the Old Testament, under which the *Badawin* still live, and the most modern forms of urban life in such towns as Tel Aviv. And in few countries are religious contrasts more sharply defined than in the land which has given to the world Judaism and Christianity and has played an important part in the early development of Islam.

Yet, with all this diversity of matter and spirit, there is in some respects in Palestine a certain underlying uniformity which comes to the surface where one least expects to find it. It would be difficult, for example, to find three manifestations of human emotion more different in meaning, in venue, in their participants, than the Christian ceremony of the Holy Fire, which takes place in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the Saturday before the Orthodox Easter, in the Muslim festival of *Nebi Musa* at the supposed tomb of Moses, near Jericho, and in the Jewish pilgrimage to Meiron, in Galilee, about to be described. Yet the dense crowds of devotees who dance and clap their hands on each of these occasions, who work themselves up by rhythmical movement into a state of exaltation and excitement in exactly the same way, shouting much the same sort of topical verses to precisely the same chants, induce the reflection about Palestine in those who have seen the three festivals : "*plus ça change plus c'est la même chose,*" or, more briefly, more ecclesiastically, "*semper eadem.*"

Meiron is situated in one of the most beautiful parts of Galilee, on the lower slopes of Jebel Jermak, the highest mountain of Palestine, and on the road recently constructed by the Palestine Government to connect the town of Safad with the Mediterranean at Acre. Now Safad is famous in Jewry for the development of the form of Jewish mysticism known as "Kabbala," which was brought to this north Galilean town by Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal at the end of the 15th century. Meiron, on the other hand, owes its sanctity and its position as the most highly revered Jewish place of pilgrimage in the country to the tombs of many of the celebrated Rabbis who laboured in Upper Galilee in the first centuries of the Christian era on the compilation of the "Mishna" and the Palestinian Talmud. The *Jewish* Meiron (for there is an adjacent small *Arab* village of the same name) is not a town or a village; it is a collection of these early rabbinical tombs (some of them in caves and rock-chambers) which, with the ruins of a synagogue of the second or third century A.D., are grouped around two large buildings, the one a modern Talmudic seminary and Aged Home for Ashkenazi Jews, the other the enclosed synagogue which contains the tombs of two of the most distinguished of the Rabbis, Simon ben-Yechai and his son Eleazar, and is the central attraction of pilgrimage.

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[1] Reprinted, with kind permission of the author and the publishers, from *The Near East and India*, April 10th, 1930.

The synagogue proper is situated within the inner of the two courtyards which compose the sanctuary, the whole constituting a combination of *khan*, that is, an establishment where men and beasts may find shelter and accommodation, and of place of worship. The bodies of the two Rabbis are understood to lie in an underground cave or crypt, while on the floor of the synagogue are their cenotaphs, each enclosed by railings. The tomb of a third worthy, upon whose identity there is some doubt, stands in the outer court. Corresponding to these on the flat roof of the buildings, are three pedestals of stone, or, more correctly, low pillars supporting stone basins, in which the "great burnings"—the culminating feature of the annual pilgrimage to the tombs of the Rabbis—are made.

The pilgrimage, which attracts Jews from all over the world, takes place on the festival called *Lag Be'omer*, namely, the 33rd of the 50 days which elapse between the Jewish Feasts of Passover and Pentecost (the 50th day). On this 33rd day the restrictive laws which are in force during the remainder of the period are removed. The prohibition against such things as getting married and the cutting of hair are withdrawn; and the day becomes one of relaxation and rejoicing, a sort of *mi-Carême*. According to the Kabbalists it is on *Lag Be'omer* that Simeon bar-Yechi died, and this day has thus become the date of the festival at the shrine, of which his tomb is the nucleus.

The ceremonies owe much of their weird, their almost unearthly effect to the circumstance that they take place at night. At this time of the year there is reasonable certainty of a clear starry sky, against which the flares of the blazing pyres illuminate the stiff, awkward gyrations of aged men in long robes, dancing around the columns of fire to the accompaniment of hoarse chanting, stressed by the clapping of hands on the part of the onlookers. In the basins upon the three columns or pyres, which correspond to the three tombs below, the pilgrims have placed their offerings for the burnt sacrifice. The offerings consist mainly of garments such as handkerchiefs, scarves and shawls (the latter often of considerable value), which, when they have been nearly folded and stacked, are soaked with inflammable oil. There is then auctioned by the custodians of the shrine the right to apply the first match to the pyres, and the successful competitors set alight their pyramids of clothes to the accompaniment of shouts of rejoicing from the spectators. Wizened and decrepit old men, whom one would have supposed far too infirm for such exercises, now proceed to dance round the pyres, and one is amazed to see how long they are able to keep up the exertion, one marvels at the agility which they are able to summon up, even though it be religious exaltation that lends strength to their limbs. The excited crowd singing hoarsely around one, filling every square inch of courtyards below and of flat roofs above, the three pyres sending up their flickering columns of fire and smoke, lighting up with intermittent flashes the wrinkled faces of the bent and ringleted old men who are dancing around them, at the back the outline of the mountain, dimly discernible against the midnight sky, combined to form a picture of strange unreality, in which the picturesque, the grotesque, and the pathetic have their share. I was not surprised to overhear some American Jews beside me remark, as they watched the capering and chanting and clapping of their Oriental co-religionists, that they could not make out what it was all about.

One of the most interesting features of the festival of Meiron is the number of its points of resemblance with that of the Holy Fire of Jerusalem. Apart from the element of fire common to both we find, first of all, the crowds of men and women of all ages and of little children, assembling at Meiron a day or two in advance cooking, eating and sleeping in every available nook and corner of the synagogue and the rooms and passages of the *khan* which surrounds it, exactly as the pilgrims of the Eastern Churches camp on the floor and in the galleries of the Holy Sepulchre, packed as densely as sardines, in anticipation of the ceremony of the Holy Fire. It was hardly possible to penetrate inside the synagogue of Meiron or to make one's way on to the roof without treading on aged men and women and mothers suckling their young, so thick was the mass of people who had managed to squeeze themselves into the building. And as the Holy Sepulchre attracts in the Holy Week of the Eastern Churches pilgrims of the most varied races, Russians and other Slavs and Greeks from Europe, Arabs and Armenians and Jacobites from Asia, Copts and Abyssinians from Africa, so at Meiron, in addition to the Sephardim and Ashkenazim of Palestine, were gathered wizened little Yemenites from the coast of Arabia, Jews from Bokhara and Samarkand dressed with infinite picturesqueness in the rich colours and stuffs of Central Asia, Aramaic-speaking Jews from Kurdish villages where they claim to have been settled by Sargon when he brought the ten tribes, their ancestors, from captured Samaria, Jewish pilgrims from Persia, Beni Israel from India. And what a variety of headgear one saw as one watched from the roof the heads of the throng below bobbing up and down or describing circles in the dance! There were Homburg hats and boaters, there were caps both Western and Russian, there were the fezzes of the Yemenites, there were the black turbans of the Sephardim, there were the white and black astrachan bonnets of the Central Asians, there were (a novelty these) the new Persian képis of field-blue imposed by Riza Shah on his subjects as a contribution to that "bowlerization" (if I may so term it) of the East that is now being enforced on their respective subjects by the *Duci* of Hither Asia.

The similarity of the chanting, the identity of the chants, of the devotees at the two functions have already been mentioned. An even more remarkable parallel is afforded by the auctioning of the right to light the pyre; for at the Holy Fire the highly prized privilege to be the first lay Copt and Jacobite to receive the fire from the Patriarch, as he emerges from the "edicule" of the Holy Sepulchre, is put up to auction among the pilgrims of these communities.

Meanwhile, inside the synagogue below, Jews in small groups of twos and threes were going up to the cenotaphs of the two Rabbis to pray and weep with their heads against the palls as they do against the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. I was taken into an inner chamber lined with low divans, on which sat a score or so of aged Sephardic Rabbis, very striking in their white robes and black silk turbans. These proceeded to offer up prayers for the health of His Majesty the King and, as they stood in a circle for this purpose, they made a picture which Rembrandt would have rejoiced to paint.

As the hour of dawn draws near the ecstasy of the pilgrims begins gradually to abate, there takes place a little ceremony which, insignificant in itself, yet serves to link the proceedings of to-day with those of a remote and even sinister past. The children present are led to the pyres, a little of their hair is snipped off; and the locks are solemnly placed on the embers to be consumed by the now dying flame. Anthropologists trace a connection between the burnings of Meiron and the "great burnings" for dead Jewish Kings described in the Old Testament, and between the "great burnings," again, and the terrible offerings of the first-born children to Moloch the King in the Valley of Hinnom. The desire at present uppermost in the minds of the authorities of Meiron is for telephonic connection with Safad, a desire that bridges the centuries in a manner with which all who know the Holy Land are familiar. Moloch and a trunk-line telephone—such juxtapositions are of everyday occurrence in what Herzl denominated the "Old-New Land" of Palestine.[1]

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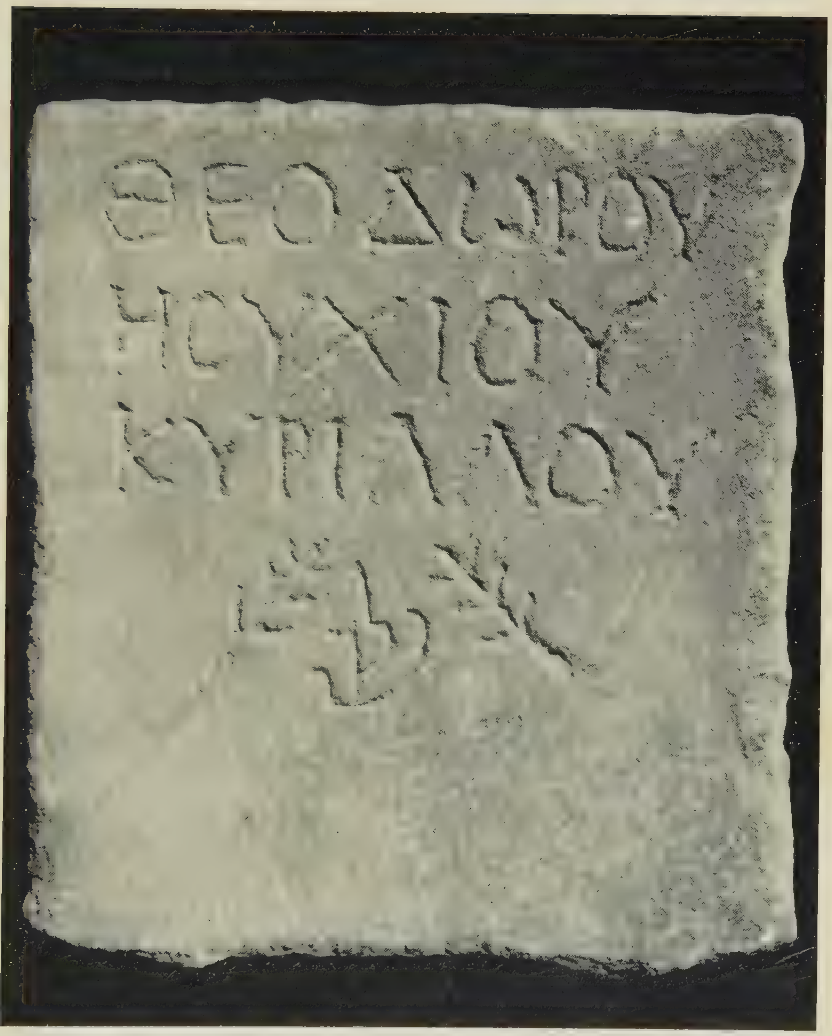
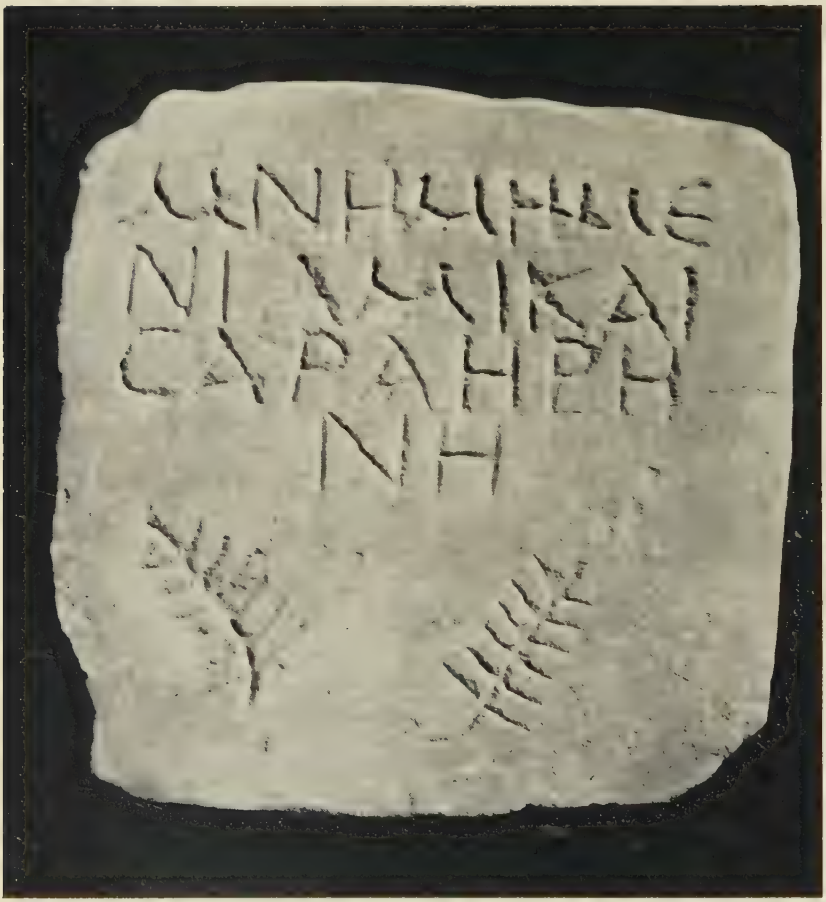
[1] For another account of the same Jewish feast, see *Q.S.* 1919, p. 112-117.



1.—Jaffa. The Titulus of Theodoros.



2.—The Memorial to Meniamin and Sara.

GLEANINGS FROM THE JUDAEO-GREEK CEMETERY, JAFFA.

By Dr. E. L. Sukenik, Jerusalem.

In the course of his archæological researches, conducted on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Clermont-Ganneau, about sixty years ago discovered the first tituli of the Judaeo-Greek cemetery in the vicinity of Jaffa.[1] Subsequently, a great many more were discovered and likewise published in the *Quarterly Statements* by its learned contributors. I am glad of the opportunity to add to their number two others hidden for many years in the collection of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, Jerusalem.[2]

Titulus No. 1.—A slab of marble, dimensions 23 by 26 cms., 4 cms. thick; four lines of text, average height of letters 26 mms. (Plate I).

1. **ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ**
2. **ΗϹΥΧΙΟΥ**
3. **ΚΡΙΛΛΟΥ**
4. Palm-branch שלום palm-branch[3]

Θεόδωρος corresponding to the Hebrew נתניה or נתנאל etc., is often met with in Jewish texts. ‘Ησύχιος although common in the non-Jewish onomasticon, appears—to the best of my knowledge—for the first time in the Jewish epigraphy of Palestine. The name Κυριλλος is known from another Jaffa-titulus.[4]. Of particular interest is the shape of the letters of the last word שלום which gives it the character of a monogram (Plate I). This graceful combination stands in a class by itself, when compared with the monograms met with later in Jewish epigraphy.

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[1] *Q.S.*, 1874. Letters from M. Clermont-Ganneau, Ramleh, November 6th, 1873, p. 3; *Jerusalem*, November 12th, 1873, p. 5.

[2] I wish to express my gratitude to the authorities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for their kind permission to study and eventually publish these inscriptions.

[3] The provenance of the slab is indicated on a slip of paper glued to the back of the stone with the following note in Russian: "This slab was found during excavations at Jaffa." The remainder of this label, now eaten away by insects, probably contained the date of the discovery as on the second titulus.

[4] Μνῆμα Κυρίλλου καὶ ’Αλεξάνδρος ’Αλεξανδρέων. Euting, "Epigraphische Miszellen," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, XXXV (1885), No. 53.

Titulus No. 2.—A slab of marble, dimensions 23 by 23 cms., 2 cms. thick; four lines of text, average height of letters 24 mms. (Plate II).

1. **MNHMH MЄ**
2. **NIAMI KAI**
3. **CAPA HPH**
4. **HN**

Below the text two palm-branches.[5]

Μνήμη Μενιαμὶ καὶ Σάρα ἠρήνη.

Memorial to Meniamin and Sara. Peace.

Μενιαμίν obviously stands for *Βενιαμίν*; it occurs three times in the Bible (2 Chron. xxi, 15, Neh. xii, 17, 41), and often in the Talmudic literature. The name *Σάρα* common in the Diaspora[6] appears for the first time in an ancient Jewish inscription in Palestine. The spelling of *ἠρήνη* is one more instance of the transition *ει*>*ι*>*η*.

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[5] There is a note in Russian on the back of this slab too: "This slab was found during excavations at Jaffa, in the year [illegible]7." Unfortunately, only the unit is legible, the rest being eaten away by insects. It would be futile to suggest a date, the last possible year is 1907.

[6] Müller, *Die jüdischen Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom*, p. 102; Müller-Bees, *Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakombe*; etc., No. 48.

A NAZARETH INSCRIPTION ON THE VIOLATION OF TOMBS.

By S. A. Cook, Litt.D.

Considerable interest has been aroused by the recent publication of a Greek inscription, said to have come from Nazareth, relating to the violation of tombs. It was preserved in the collection Froehner (since 1878), and is now in the Cabinet des Medailles, where Rostovtzeff recently drew the attention to it of Cumont, who published an account of it in *Rev. Historique*, clxiii (1930), 241-266.[1] Froehner, we are told, was wont to keep his treasures unedited, but there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the marble slab (roughly 24 × 15 inches), which is the subject of this note.[2] The inscription is legible and simple :—

> (1) *Διάταγμα* Καίσαρος (2) *Ἀρέσκει μοι τάφους τύνβους* (3) *τε, οἵτινες εἰς θρησκείαν προγόνων* (4) *ἐποίησαν ἢ τέκνων ἢ οἰκείων,* (5) *τούτους μένειν ἀμετακεινήτους* (6) *τὸν αἰῶνα· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπιδ(ε)ίξῃ τι(7)να ἢ καταλελυκότα ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ* (8) *τρόπῳ τοὺς κεκηδευμένους* (9) *ἐξερριφφότα ἢ εἰς ἑτέρους* (10) *τόπους δώλῳ πονηρῷ με*(11)*τατεθεικότα ἐπ᾽ἀδικίᾳ τῇ τῶν κεκηδευμένων ἢ κατόχους ἢ λί*(12)*θους μετατεθεικότα, κατὰ τοῦ* (13) *τοιούτου κριτήριον ἐγὼ κελεύω* (15) *γενέσθαι καθάπερ περὶ θεῶν* (16) *ε[ἰ]ς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θρησ*(17)*κ[ε]ίας. πολύ γὰρ μᾶλλον δεήσει* (18) *τοὺς κεκηδευμένους τειμᾶν.* (19) *καθόλου μηδενὶ ἐξέστω μετα*(20)*κεινῆσαι. εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦτον ἐγώ κε*(21)*φαλῆς κατάκριτον ὀνόματι* (22) *τυμβωρυχίας θέλω γενέσθαι.*

This may be translated (mainly following Prof. Brown and M. Tonneau) :—

> "Imperial Decree : it is my decision that tombs and graves which have been made for the cult of ancestors or

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[1] See also Éd. Cuq, *Rev. Hist. de Droit*, 1930, pp. 383-410 ; Abel, *Rev. Biblique*, 1930, p. 567 ff. (with a note by Lagrange) ; L. Wenger, in the *Zeitschrift d. Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, li (*Rom. Abt.* 1931), pp. 369-397 ; F. E. Brown, *American Journ. of Philology*, lii, 1-29 ; and R. Tonneau, *Rev. Biblique*, 1931, pp. 544-564. I have not seen the articles by Corradi (*Il Mondo Classico*, i, 56-65) or Carcopino (on which see Tonneau, p. 563).

[2] Among Froehner's papers at Heidelberg are two leaves relating to a magical stone which he copied in Nazareth in 1869.

> children or relatives, that these remain undisturbed for ever. If then anyone lays information that some one has destroyed them or in some way or other has exhumed (Tonneau : *a rejeté*) the corpses, or has malevolently transferred the body to others places to the prejudice of the corpses (Tonneau : *avec l'intention de les outrager*) or has displaced inscriptions or stones, I ordain that against such an one there should be a trial just as in respect of the cult of mortals as in respect of that of the gods. For much more should one honour the dead. Altogether, then, let no one be permitted to change their place (or *de troubler le repos des defunts*). Otherwise, it is my will that the offender undergo capital punishment for the violation of graves."

The writing is of the beginning of the Christian era ; so Abel (p. 567), who compares the inscription of Theodotion, though Brown argues for the second century, A.D., when *sepulchri violatio* found a place in the criminal statutes. The bad style of the Greek points to a Latin original, *e.g.*, *capitis damnatio*, ll. 20-21), and the term *diatagma*, which in Rabbinical Hebrew is used of an edict or ordinance, has suggested to Abel (p. 569 n.) that the translator was perhaps a Jew rather than some Hellenised Syrian. It is disputed whether the first part of the incription is a legal enactment, and the second a sort of post-script on the illicit removal of a corpse, but it is certainly precarious to associate it with a particular incident, as though it bore directly upon Matthew xxviii, 11-15 (Brown, p. 10). Brown argues that Nazareth lay somewhat outside Roman control as regards laws dealing with tombs, but it may be questioned whether the evidence is so decisively against a first century date as he is inclined to argue. It is to be noticed that there is no special Latin equivalent for *τυμβωρυχία*, and that the application of *κατόχοι* is doubtful, whether they are stones put to block the graves (see Wenger, p. 390 *f.*) or serve a more general purpose, in which case the care taken to preserve inscribed stones find analogies elsewhere.[3] The meaning of *καθάπερ περὶ θεῶν* is likewise uncertain, and it is not quite clear whether the violation of tombs is compared to an offence against the gods or one against the divine emperors.

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[3] Dussaud (*Syria*, xi, 307) equates the *katochos* with the *népheshh* or funerary stele of the Semites, which contained (κατέχω) "l'âme végétative du mort."

The most recent study, by Tonneau, takes into account the earlier literature. He observes that the *τύνβος* is the entire sepulchre (as distinct from the *τάφος*, the part actually containing the bones). *θρησκεία* is the usual *religio*, the cult of the gods and the divinised dead. He argues, on epigraphical and other grounds, for a date in the reign of Augustus, more precisely towards the beginning of the Christian era. He finds it rather strange that an inscription from Nazareth should be in Greek—one would expect Aramaic—and he gives reasons for thinking that it is much more likely that it came from the old Hellenistic town of Sepphoris. It was destroyed by Varus and restored by Herod Agrippa; it was the capital of the tetrachy of Antipas, and with this agrees the suggested date. Moreover, the recent Franciscan excavations at Nazareth have brought to light miscellaneous fragments of stone architecture brought from Sepphoris, scarcely 8 kilometres distant, and it is not improbable that this stone came from the cemetery of that place.

M. Tonneau entirely rejects the suggestion that the Imperial Rescript has anything to do with an alleged removal of the body of Jesus (p. 556 n.), though the Rescript may well have been known to the Apostles. He takes up the question of the twofold division of the inscription, but lays most stress upon the force of *γὰρ* in l. 17: "il faudra *en effet* respecter beaucoup plus les corps ensevelis." It is a new decision, and the point of the inscription is: ce n'est pas toute exhumation quelle qu'elle soit, qui est punie si sévèrement, il y a place pour la bonne foi: c'est seulement l'entreprise des détrousseurs de cadavres."

"THE FOUNDATIONS OF BIBLE HISTORY."

By S. A. Cook, Litt.D.

Everybody knows that there are serious differences of opinion touching the value of the Biblical narratives relating to Pre-Davidic Israel; and the opinion is gaining ground that only contemporary archæology and the monuments can solve the extraordinarily complicated problems that they bring. Hence the appearance of Prof. Garstang's new book has been awaited with more than ordinary interest.[1] His long experience in the field of archæology, and his excellent first-hand knowledge of Palestine, as also his admirable work in Hittite antiquities, led one to expect a volume of unusual value; and now that it has been read and digested, and everywhere favourably received, Prof. Garstang is to be congratulated upon one of the most arresting of recent books on the Old Testament. Apart from its varied features of interest, it at once attracts attention because its author states his conclusion that the older literary sources of the books of Joshua and Judges are substantially accurate: "no radical flaw was found at all in the topography and archæology of these documents"; the familiar perplexing chronological difficulties can be removed, and, with the help of the Egyptian records and monuments, it is possible to give "a straightforward and fairly continuous account of the sequence of events" in the history of Early Israel.

The volume is fittingly dedicated to Sir Charles Marston, whose interest in Biblical study and generous support of Palestinian excavation rendered possible much of Prof. Garstang's work. It comprises a translation of the older Biblical sources[2], detailed discussions of the topography and historicity of Joshua's campaigns, the subsequent settlement of the tribes, and the period of the Judges. Full chronological tables elucidate the course of events, and an extremely valuable appendix (pp. 352-404) provides a list of Biblical cities with concise statements of their history, notes on their excavation and archæology (where available), and a dozen plans of sites. There are, in addition, 73 fine plates (most of them with a couple of photographs), 14 figures in the text and 19 maps. Regarded as a whole, the volume is original in conception, conscientious in its workmanship, and as fascinating for its illustrations as it is invaluable for deeper study of its subject. While it invites comparison with Prof. Sir George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*,[3] it has not, to be sure, the same scope or plan: but no one would willingly study the topography of Palestine or visit the land without both. Some slight idea of the author's thoroughness, and of his desire to make ancient history "live," may be gained when we observe his statement that the strategical importance of Beisan (Beth-Shan) is to be seen in the fact that it still serves to check raids from across the Jordan (p. 317), and that during the Great War experience showed how a quarter of an hour's rain on the clayey soil by the "waters of Megiddo" endangered the issue of all cavalry manœuvres, and thus threw light upon Sisera's defeat (p. 298 f).

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[1] *The Foundations of Biblical History: Joshua, Judges.* By John Garstang. Constable, 1931.

[2] That is, on the basis of Biblical criticism, the sources distinguished as J (Jehovist or Yahwist; Judæan), and E (Elohist; Ephraimite).

The picturesque frontispiece, "The Hornet (Josh. xxiv, 12)," with its symbolical groups of Pharaohs who overran Palestine, strikes the keynote of the volume. For the distinctive feature of the whole argument is that, not merely is the "hornet" which prepared the way for Israel a perfectly intelligible allusion to Egypt—this is a familiar view[4]—but that, when the Biblical chronology has been duly adjusted, it can be shown that Egyptian intervention removed obstacles in the way of the Israelite tribes (p. 260), and Israel's alternating periods of oppression and deliverance, as set forth in the Book of Judges, correspond in a most unexpected manner to the periods of Egyptian apathy or weakness and of Egyptian strength and military activity.[5] It is along such lines that Prof. Garstang considers that Biblical history can be rehabilitated and proved to be of much greater value than is commonly admitted by modern writers.

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[3] The name is given in unusual forms on pp. 102 n, 107 n, 317 n. Equally slight corrections are needed in the names on pp. 7, l. 8 (G for S), 321 n, 1, l. 5 (ö for o), and the spellings on pp. 245, l. 11 (read Goyim), 265 foot (read *shophet*).

[4] See *Encyc. Biblica*, *s.v.* "Hornet"; also E. W. Hollingworth, *Proc. of Society of Bibl. Arch.*, xxxiii (1911) 50, cf. Mr. Trumper's view, below, p. 98. Goodrick on Wisdom, xii, 8, cites cases of peoples driven out by wasps (cf. also Herod., iv, 1–5, the Neuri driven out by serpents).

[5] So to a certain extent, already, Hollingworth, *l.c.*, pp. 46-50.

It may, perhaps, be not a little disconcerting to some readers to find that Egypt and the *Pax Aegyptiaca* have this meaning for Israel, and that the removal of Egyptian forces left the newly-entered tribes exposed to the foe, even as the withdrawal of the Roman legions, too, brought disaster to the early Britons (p. 114, cf. pp. 62, 260). In any case, it is really difficult to peruse the books of Joshua and Judges and realise the part then being played by Egyptians, Hittites and others, in the history of Palestine: one may compare the failure of the books of Kings and Chronicles to refer to the sweeping Assyrian movements in and about the age of Ahab and Jehu, of Elijah and Elisha. Prof. Garstang's conception of the history implies that Israel forgot (or wished to forget) its debt to Egypt, and that its religious "philosophy of history," of periods of apostacy and penitence, is therefore secondary and unhistorical. And if this be so, we can at once form a preliminary estimate of the trustworthiness of even the oldest Biblical narratives.

Prof. Garstang is in good company when he holds that the oldest source (styled J.) is of the ninth century: he even finds it difficult to believe that its constituent elements had not been written earlier (p. 341). For my part, I consider J. *in its present form*, to be very much later, and I am much more struck by the gulf between the Biblical narratives and contemporary evidence than by the admitted points of contact. His "reconstruction" of the history is found to demand its price—like every other "reconstruction"; and readers who are attracted by his reinterpretation of events will observe that he does not take us back to the literal authenticity of the narratives. Thus, he perceives that much of the old history has been lost, and our scanty traditions are often local or tribal, and not national (pp. 238, 275-277). When, for example, he suggests—in agreement with Petrie[6]—that the number of the Israelites was relatively small (pp. 120 f, 152): the word for "thousand" meaning really "group" or "clan," it is easy to see how far the whole tradition of Exodus and Conquest is affected, and not merely a few figures here and there.[7] Or again, when we observe that the story of the deliverance of Israel by Ehud is properly a "local" one (cf. p. 275), the interpretation of the history of the "judges" is complicated: how far, in fact, was there really, at that time, a united Israel? The story of Othniel, for example, is interpreted (pp. 264 ff) as based upon the tradition of a *local* struggle in the south with that of the conquest of *all* Palestine by the Hatti (Hittite) king of the north (with a possible oppression of *all* Palestine). Or, again, when the Bethelite went to "the land of the Hittites" (Judg. i, 22-26), we have to remember that, by the side of archæological evidence which would suggest that the Hatti (Hittite) empire of Asia Minor dominated Palestine for a brief period, is the probability that the Biblical writer has in view the later situation when, after the overthrow of this old empire, "Hittites" are to be traced on the south sides of the Taurus (cf. p. 226 f).

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[6] McNeile, to whom reference is made on p. 120 note, expressly rejects Petrie's suggestion.

[7] Certain old data do, indeed, point to an "Israel" rather restricted in numbers, and also to a relatively short sojourn in Egypt; but they reflect a tradition that is by no means to be identified with the canonical tradition, which alone impresses the ordinary reader.

In general we shall understand Prof. Garstang's task better if we recall that the Book of Chronicles contains, as we know from Samuel—Kings, much that is old by the side of much that is novel, late and untrustworthy—and the same can be said of the very late Book of Jubilees compared with Genesis. Whatever may prove to be the character of the oldest sources in Joshua-Judges, and of the later and relatively less valuable sources, no one has ever doubted —least of all the present writer—that there is much that is really authentic. But where opinions differ is as regards the extent of the old and valuable material that can be recovered.

The starting point of the new "Foundations of Biblical History" is the date of the Exodus, which, working back from the 480 years of 1 Kings vi., is placed at 1447 B.C. The familiar view that the Exodus took place after the construction of Pithom and Ramses (Exod. i. 11) in the reign of Ramses II, is now out of favour (p. 282). But though this later date is said to be "ill-founded," after all it was a *bona-fide* effort to use the Biblical evidence. We are, however, told that "a number of Israelites" might have been carried off prisoners to Egypt about that time (p. 281); and it should be borne in mind that some scholars attempt to solve the problem of the Exodus by the theory that there were two distinct "exodi." At all events, it is disconcerting if the evidently plain statement in Exod. i, 11 is unreliable; it throws doubt upon other data, apparently reliable but as yet isolated and without any archæological or other confirmation. Scholars who are endeavouring to recover the course of Pre-Davidic Israel find themselves obliged to frame theories that shall, as far as possible, justify the main biblical evidence, and the problems of the Exodus and Conquest are such that to the present writer, at least, a satisfactory reconstruction seems impossible. It is especially precarious, in his opinion, to lay much weight upon the (late) chronological scheme.

However that may be, Joshua's invasion of Canaan is placed forty years after the Exodus, *i.e.*, about 1407 B.C. (pp. 55, 66, 115). There is good archæological evidence for the destruction of Jericho, Ai, Kirjath-Sepher and Hazor about this period (cf. pp. 54, 213), although some catastrophe befell Jericho earlier, about 1600 (pp. 130, 145 ff.). Moreover there are signs of earthquake at Jericho (Plate xxvi), and we are reminded both of the mishap to the Jordan (Josh. iii, 16) and the imagery of Judges v, 4 (p. 138). But the account of the overthrow of Jericho is in no wise taken *au pied de lettre ;* and as it is placed on archæological grounds well before the Iron Age (pp. 147, 387f), it might have been pointed out that the narrative refers to the seizure of vessels of *iron* (Josh. vi, 24), obviously one of the—how many ?—later elements in the tradition.[8] Moreover, the fact that the chariots of *iron* were always regarded as so important a factor in the resistance of the Canaanites (cf. p. 88 top) surely points equally, to the relatively later atmosphere of the traditions of the invasion.[9]

Joshua's fights in the south and north of Palestine, as described in the older sources, are skilfully worked out. We note in passing that Tell el-Hesi is nowadays identified with Eglon, Lachish being found at Tell ed-Duweir (p. 173). Hazor has been identified by Prof. Garstang with Tell el-Kedah near the foot of Lake Huleh ; on examination it seems to have suffered destruction " about this date " (pp. 197, 383), and a reference to this is very ingeniously found in the Amarna Letters.[10] Joshua's last years, it is held, overlap with the Amarna Letters and their accounts of the invasion of the SA.GAZ or Habiru,[11] and perhaps the most novel feature of the volume is Prof. Garstang's view that to the later period, about a generation *after* the Israelite invasion, the period illustrated by some at least of the Letters, and contemporary with the death of Joshua, belong the passages in Joshua and in Judges, chap. i, which reflect independent movements of individual tribes (p. 255, &c.).

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[8] Just as the narrative represents " Iron Age " conditions, so, also, it seems to the present writer that the general religious ideas, too, are by no means Pre-Davidic, but more probably are after the great reforming prophets.

[9] Cf. also the criticisms of so conservative a writer as Prof. Kyle, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Jan. 1932, p. 113, and his remarks on the capture of Debir (Beit Mirsim) by Othniel in the Iron Age.

[10] P. 186 : " Let my lord the king recall all that Hazor and its king have already had to endure " (Knudtzon, No. 227).

This theory of two distinct series of events: (*a*) The original invasion of Palestine under Joshua, and (*b*) the Habiru invasion and various independent Israelite movements associated (and readily confused) therewith, is supplemented by the further not less novel view that the later and "Deuteronomic" expansion of the older sources of the book of Joshua, (which refer to the earlier event [*a*]), may preserve a memory of the later events with which the Amarna Letters deal (*b*). Such a treatment of the Biblical sources has its risks, if only because, on general grounds, early narratives will often contain unhistorical elements, and later ones elements of great historical worth. It is this principle which makes the present writer not a little dubious as to the legitimacy of Prof. Garstang's methods. The many difficult problems that arise, however, are too complicated for discussion here. It must suffice to remark that Prof. Garstang, in his treatment of the movements in Judah and South Palestine by Caleb and others, does not accept the well-supported theory of a movement of tribes from the Kadesh district northwards, one independent of that of the tribes who entered Palestine under Joshua from across the Jordan. He treats the capture of Hormah in Judges i,, 17 as an avenging of the *defeat* in Num. xiv, 45 (p. 216), and appears to ignore the important *victory* of Israel in the region of Hormah (Num. xxi, 1-3), and at the very gates of the Promised Land, an event of unusual significance for all attempts to write the history of the Exodus and the Invasion.[12]

Furthermore, the clan Caleb drove the sons of Anak out of Hebron (Josh. xv, 14), and this name Anak is, it would seem, to be identified with Iy'nq mentioned on an Egyptian list of about 2000 B.C.[13]. But we also have other Biblical evidence for these "giants": they were encountered by the Spies in South Palestine (Num. xiii, 28, 33), traces of them survive in the stories of David's fights (2 Sam. xxi, xxiii), and the late "Deuteronomic" source speaks of them as pretty widely distributed (Josh. xi, 21)[14]. It is a matter of dispute whether these passages, which are both early and late, and are obviously not unrelated to one another, refer to *actual* giants, or whether certain narratives or traditions *believed* that the invading Israelites had to contend against primitive inhabitants of this type. At all events, here and elsewhere it is unsafe to draw too strict a line between the earlier and the later references, and we may probably recognise what may be called for the nonce an "Anakite" tradition. It was clearly a pretty extensive one, and it would be the task of Biblical criticism to examine this tradition along with the other traditions which are more familiar to us—because they tended to oust out the others—before attempting to "reconstruct" the course of events.

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[11] Pp. 202, 254. As difficulty is caused by the evidence for estimating Joshua's age, Prof. Garstang has to treat as misplaced, and as a gloss Exod. xxxiii, 11 (p. 202 n.), which is really part of a passage of unique importance. In Exod. xvii, 8–16, Joshua appears as a seasoned warrior, but the reader should be warned that, on a variety of grounds, Biblical critics would refer the incident to a later context in the story of the Exodus.

[12] His point that "going up" in Judg. i, applies to a journey *from* Jericho, and not to one from, say, Beersheba (p. 215), surely overlooks the phraseology of Num xiii, 17, xiv, 42. etc.

Leaving these intricate matters we can only say that if we are to follow Prof. Garstang and combine the accounts of the movements in the Amarna Letters with the Biblical history in particular as regards the position of Israel in Central Palestine, we cannot fail to be impressed, once more, by the gulf between our contemporary records and even the earliest written sources.[15] Yet many may feel that Prof. Garstang makes out a good case. Observe, for example, the skilful association of the campaigns of Seti I in Palestine (from the South northwards) with the Moabite oppression from which Ehud freed Israel (pp. 270, 341). And if Shamgar ben Anath, who defeated the Philistines, is really the important sea-captain Ben Anath whose daughter was married to a son of Ramses II (p. 287f.). how tempting it is to suppose that the protective arm of Egypt and Ben Anath warded off a Philistine invasion, and that stirring events lie behind the scanty and tantalising allusions to Shamgar! As for the Philistines themselves, they are akin to Homer's Achaean warriors (p. 314), and in course of time may have been employed by Egypt to keep order in Palestine (p. 330 f.). Their existence probably depended upon their intermarriage with the native peoples of the Plain (p. 338)—and although Prof Garstang does not mention it, to such Ægean influences may perhaps be due one of the characteristics of the Jewish racial type.[16]

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[13] P. 209 n.: cf. *Q.S.*, 1928, p. 218.

[14] A remnant of the Anakim (at Ashdod or Ekron ?) is referred to in Jer. xlvii, 5 (Septuagint version—see the Commentaries).

[15] Pp. 228, 253, 257. Similarly if, as several scholars agree, the Patriarchal narratives reflect the movements of the Hyksos, the gulf is not less conspicuous.

Enough has been said to show how ingeniously Prof. Garstang has used external and contemporary evidence, and in so doing has placed problems of Pre-Davidic Palestine in a new light. The days of Palestine's great and powerful cities are over (cf. pp. 165, 184): we are at an age of profound changes. It was the "heroic age," and such was the turmoil and pressure of events that it would be easy for later traditions to become fused and confused. Should we feel that Prof. Garstang has not given us a clear outline of the events it may well be that amid rebellions, intrigues and conflicting policies a consistent outline can neither be expected nor attempted. In any case, it is difficult not to assume that Hittites, Mitannians and Amorites, and perhaps even Ægeans, played a much more important part in shaping the history of Palestine than is recognised.

Also as regards Israel itself, it is exceedingly difficult to form a clear idea of the fortunes, whether of a large Israelite confederation—where there is the question whether it did or did not include Judah—or of the smaller constituent groups. Much history has admittedly been lost, and for this reason alone it is unsafe to build upon the "argument from silence," as, for example, the absence of Judah in some conspicuous cases (pp. 305, 340), or of the Philistines (p. 324). Though much in this volume is highly speculative, this is unavoidable; speculation is both legitimate and imperative, if Pre-Davidic Israel is not to be a closed book, and speculation enters more largely into even the most "conservative" of modern histories than is usually realised.

The question at issue is, which "reconstruction" best answers the facts, best explains the variant and conflicting data of the Old Testament. On the one hand, the present writer considers that Prof. Garstang has undertaken a hopeless task—that no satisfactory "reconstruction" is possible until more direct contemporary material comes to light. Paradoxical though it may seem, the more successfully the Biblical narratives seem to be fitted into the framework of archæology and the monuments, the more clearly do they appear to be but faint echoes of an almost forgotten past. On the other hand, most archæologists and biblical scholars believe that a "reconstruction" can and should be attempted, and one, indeed, more or less on the general lines of the books of Joshua-Judges. Certainly there are many who would assert that any working hypothesis is better than none at all! It would be idle to probe into the future, and yet the amount of archæological research now being undertaken, the variety of sites explored, even the mere "probability" of crucial discoveries being made sooner or later, not to mention a seemingly irrational "chance" that brings things to light just in the fulness of time—all this combines to make one believe that a new era in Biblical Research is opening out. So, while the present writer finds, as in Livy's account of early Rome, or in Geoffrey of Monmouth's edifying story of Britain, a fusion of good material with much that is untrustworthy, opinion will in the meanwhile differ as to whether we are to regard Joshua-Judges as untrustworthy, though with much that is authentic, or as trustworthy, though with much that is unhistorical. Time will show which side the balance will lie; but even now archæology—in the present writer's opinion—already justifies the former estimate as the more cautious, especially when the archæological evidence for the early religion is taken into consideration.[17]

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[16] See N. Redcliffe Salaman, *Q.S.*, 1925, Jan. and April ("What has become of the Philistines?").

In any event, it is extremely helpful to have such a volume as this one, wherein is set forth what, in the opinion of a competent archæologist, is the best case that can be made for establishing a view of the "Foundations of Bible History," that adheres more closely to the Biblical sources than do the views of more sceptical writers like myself. Besides, there is in the volume so much of real value, that continued difference of opinion as to its "reconstruction" of history, or some subsequent discovery that this or the other view therein is untenable, will not lessen one's appreciation of Prof. Garstang's painstaking labours.

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[17] The aim of the writer's *Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archæology* was primarily to consider the significance of the data entirely apart from his own or other writers' views as to Biblical criticism (p. 1), and the result was to show how widely, both in religion and in history, the written records are separated from contemporary evidence but, more particularly, to place our familiar problems upon an entirely new footing.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Seventy Years in Archæology. By Sir Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., Litt.D., F.R.S., &c. Sampson Low, n.d.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to lay one's finger upon a man whose career as an archæologist, whose versatility and whose *flair* for discovery have so aroused the interest alike of student and layman as the veteran author of this autobiography. Sir Flinders Petrie has lived through the most remarkable events in the unearthing of past history, such that this fact and his own contribution to them, make this volume of reminiscences attractive from many different points of view. In a plain, straightforward and distinctly lively account he tells of his struggles and achievements, the rebuffs he has received, the numerous and frequently unnecessary difficulties against which he had to contend, and the long list of successes which crowned his endeavours.

The book is one to read rather than to review, and it is so full of incident and observation, of valuable hints and timely warnings, all the fruit of unique experience, that the reader picks up, almost insensibly, much that is of practical value for the young archæologist along with much that is more distinctly of personal interest. So we have the red-letter day when the name " Israel " was discovered on the stela of Merenptah (p. 160), and we learn of the nature of Egyptian justice, or rather the absence of it (p. 186). Or we are informed how the perils of discovery are by no means over when things reach a museum, as " thing after thing has been spoilt, lost, or thrown away after it seemed safely housed." Anecdotes abound, and one of them shall here be quoted. It is that of the foreign missionary who, instructed by his English wife, to put on a clean shirt every day when in society, returned a week later, saying triumphantly, " I have got dem all on." And, proceeds Sir Flinders " thus religions are overlaid, the last is the one that is seen, but the first is still next to the skin all the time " (p. 114).

The book is well illustrated ; we have, *e.g.*, the models found at Memphis of foreign heads, from Spain, or Sardinia, to India (p. 213f.), the art at Amarna, the oldest siege-scene, a winged sun-boat, etc., etc. We note also as regards the script from Serabit in the Sinaitic peninsula that the author now considers that it is not a precursor of the Phœnician—" It is merely a local barbarism. All the wild theories of Grimm (*sic*) about it depends on his adoption of the natural cracks in the stone as being engraved signs."[1]

Sir Flinders ends on an optimistic note :—" More students than ever before are wishing to enter the field, and those who join are of the most promising class for the future. The whole machinery of research has never been so well developed, and the only hindrance is insufficiency of means, for in the absence of any Government help the progress of researches depends entirely on the public. I trust that my experience of fifty years may still be utilised to the full in such time as may yet remain for action." We re-echo this hope that the author may be spared to do yet more field work, and we thank him for an inspiriting and inspiring book, which is calculated to fire one with the romance of archæology and arouse the younger generation to carry on the labours in a field in which the author will always stands out as a most conspicuous and successful worker.

The Mirror of Egypt in the Old Testament. By Lieut.-Commander Victor L. Trumper, R.N.R. Marshall, Morgan & Scott, n.d.

Twenty years in Egypt have enabled Mr. Trumper to collect a store of facts and incidents which tend to throw light upon the Bible. These he has now published in a handy volume which provides in popular and readable form material for teachers and speakers. Passages are printed (in the R.V.) with explanatory notes, there are excurses, and the like, and the needs of the ordinary, intelligent laymen are kept in view throughout. The aim has been, he says, to go between the Scylla of facts duly presented and the Charybdis of homiletic declamation. There are various interesting illustrations, including one of the " hornet," the Biblical passages (Josh. xxiv, 12, &c.) being explained as an allusion to the royal power of Lower Egypt (p. 137).[2] The notes cover such topics as amulets, ceremonial, the plagues, mumification, and one of special value on the watering-places in the wilderness of Sinai (pp. 133ff). Among points of interest we note the suggestion that Potiphar was a eunuch (whence the conduct of his wife, p. 23), that the cry *abrek* indicated the readiness of the multitude to kneel before Joseph (p. 40f), the pathological explanation of the "hardening" of Pharaoh's heart (p. 120), and the conviction that the exodus is to be placed at a later rather than the earlier date, viz., in the time of Merenptah (p. 146f).[1] We regret that the book does not bear its date on the title page.

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[1] P. 195 *f.* Grimm is a misprint for Grimme ; so also "necef" is for "neçef" (p. 211).

[2] Cf. p. 89 above on Prof. Garstang's book.

Pentateuch and Haftorahs (*Lessons from the Prophets*). Edited by the Chief Rabbi. i. *Genesis*, 1929 ; ii, Exodus, 1930. Oxford University Press.

Dr. Herz will receive the thanks of Jews and many non-Jews for a publication which may be said to be a distinct event in modern Judaism. Each volume contains a book of the Pentateuch with the relevant sections from the "Prophets," which, of course, includes the "Former" (*e.g.*, Judges iv, 1 Kings xii, &c.) as well as the "Latter." The Hebrew text with vowels and accents is printed in full. The systems of cantillation are set forth ; the translation is that of the R.V. (where text and margin differs a choice is made), and in addition to notes and comments, there are chronological tables and maps. There are also several fuller excurses, *e.g.*, on creation, the Jewish attitude towards evolution, Eden and the fall, the deluge, Israel in Egypt, the Decalogue, the Code of Hammurabiet, the "Higher Critical" view of the composite origin of the Pentateuch, etc. Among special points we note on the map of the Tribes (vol. ii, facing p. 490) that Judah touches the sea and Benjamin has an unusual frontier, and that the note on Ex. iii, 22 (spoiling the Egyptians) argues curiously and unnecessarily for the rendering, "ye shall save the Egyptians," *i.e.*, clear the name and vindicate the humanity of the Egyptians. Dr. Herz has made full use of Jewish and non-Jewish works, and the general character of the volumes will be seen from his words (Vol. i, *Preface*, p. vi.f) : "'Accept the true from whatever source it come,' is sound Rabbinic doctrine ; to which I like to add, 'Adopt the beautiful from whatever source it come'—even if it be from the pages of a devout Christian expositor or of an iconoclastic Bible scholar, Jewish or non-Jewish. This does not in any way affect the Jewish Traditional character of the work. My conviction that the criticism of the

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[1] Cf. also above, p. 91.

Pentateuch associated with the name of Wellhausen is a perversion of history and a desecration of religion is unshaken; likewise—refusal to eliminate the Divine either from history or from human life."

A cordial welcome must be extended to the new *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, published in Jerusalem for the Government of Palestine by Milford, Oxford University Press. This is the latest of the Department's many activities, thanks to the generous assistance of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the two numbers which have already appeared are sufficient indication of its value and utility. The first number contains, *inter alia*, notes on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (a recent discovery, by E.T.R.), a mediaeval Arabic description of the Haram (translated by L. A. M., to be continued), description of an interesting hoard of coins discovered near Haifa (by C. L.), and an account (by D. C. B.) of the contents of some tombs, known to Clermont-Ganneau (*Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, i, 248), but now for the first time carefully examined. In the second number special mention may be made of the concise bibliography of excavations in Palestine (by L. A. M.), a contribution (by the same) on the name Khan el-Akhmar at Beisan, a notice of a newly-opened rock-cut tomb at Nazareth (by E. T. R.), and descriptions of Byzantine and other coins, Jewish Tetradrachms of the Second Revolt of the Jews (both by C. L.). The curious wagon represented on a fragment of the frieze of the old synagogue of Capernaum is explained as the Tabernacle journeying in the Wilderness (p. 69), in preference to the view (adopted by the present writer, *Rel. of Palestine*, p. 214) that it is a portable shrine. The third number continues its description of the coins in the Palestine Museum (a good typical collection) and its useful bibliography. Among the new articles are a tomb chamber in the Syrian Orphanage, Jerusalem (by D. C. B.), street levels in the Tyropoeon Valley (by R. W. H.), a Byzantine Church (by the same), and one, more extensive, on The Crusading and later remains at the Pilgrims' Castle, Athlit (by C. N. T.). It should be added that the *Quarterly* is well-printed on large paper, and is profusely illustrated; its price is five shillings net.

In *Biblica*, Vol. xiii, 1, Andrés Fernández discusses (in Spanish) the boundaries of Benjamin with special reference to Albright's view that in the north the line passed between the Wady Swenit and the Wady er-Rummaneh, and concludes that Beth-el and Beth-aven are two names for the same place. Albrecht Alt in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, xi, 3-4, deals with the name Orda in the Mosaic Map of Madeba, identifying it with the site of a bishopric (Oraōn, Ardōn) in sixth-century lists, and associated with Gerar: Orda belonged to the old so-called Saltus Gerariticus. In the same issue T. Canaan sums up an account of the unwritten laws affecting Palestinian (Arab) women in these words: "The women of the East who, on the one hand, are relegated by custom to a lower plane than men and consequently suffer many injustices, enjoy on the other hand, by virtue of the same body of traditional law, a great measure of respect and protection, and many of the unwritten laws which have grown up around her serve effectively to protect her honour, personal property and life. This dual function of the traditional law affecting women seems to be a legacy from the earliest days of Semitic civilisation." Jael's action in killing Sisera, he remarks, is inexplicable in the light of modern custom; driven by national enthusiasm, she seems deliberately to have transgressed Oriental laws. In the same issue Ditlef Nielsen gives some account of the mountain sanctuaries in Petra. He considers that many of the "sanctuaries" noted by Dalman served a purely secular purpose: Dalman writes a reply. Albright discusses the site of Tirzah and the topography of western Manasseh. He identifies the old town with Tell el-Farah, about eleven kilometres direct north of Nāblus, a mound of about the area of Megiddo, and half again that of Jericho: "Such comparative statistics with regard to the extent of mounds often enable us to form an adequate general idea of the relative importance of the towns which they represent." The pottery evidence suggests, but does not prove, that the site was abandoned in the ninth century B.C. Confirmatory evidence is also supplied by the ostraka of Samaria, which have recently often been studied from the topographical point of view.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *The Moabite Stone, lines* 28-31 :—These lines run : " And I became king (29) . . . a hundred in the cities which I added unto the land. And I built (30) . . . [Mehede]ba and Beth-Diblathan and as for (?) Beth Baʿal-meon, I led there the (31) . . . the sheep of the land. And as for Haurōnān, etc." (see G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 3 *sq.*). By line 29 Mesha has already described a number of cities which he has conquered back from Israel. Mehedeba and Beth Baal-Meon, though not Dibhlathan, of line 30 have already been referred to, while Haurōnān of line 31 mentioned at a later period as specifically Moabite both by Isaiah (xv, 5) and Jeremiah (xlviii, 3) may not, even in Mesha's time, have been Israelite. It may be, then, that in line 29 Mesha gives a summary of his exploits against Israel by stating the total number of cities over which he ruled including those he took back from Israel. This might have been expressed by a phrase like : " And I had dominion over a hundred[1] cities, including the cities which I added to the land of Moab." For the idiom " reign over " one may compare " my father reigned over Moab " in line 2 and the Old Testament usage of " ruling over " a territory. For the use of the preposition *be* (בקרן) meaning " accompanied by " or " including," one may compare Jeremiah xi, 19, " the tree *and* its sap," and 1 Kings xix, 8, " and he *with* the twelfth." Though the construction of the numeral following the noun is very rare in the earlier books of the Old Testament and only occasional in Kings and Ezekiel,[2] a parallel to the order " cities, a hundred " is afforded by Gen. xxxii, 15(E) " goats, a hundred," and " ewes, a hundred " ; and in the Moabite stone itself by the likely restoration in line 28, " with fifty men (באש) of Daybon." The order of the restorations in lines 28 and 29 may be " enumerative," *i.e.*, a further description of the men in one case and the cities in the other, by means of a numeral.

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[1] " hundred " is possibly a round number; *cf.* " fifty men of Daybon," line 28, and " forty years " line 8.

[2] Sven Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im Alten Testament*, quoted in Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, p. 432, n. 4.

What is left of lines 30 and 31 seems to imply that Mesha, in claiming back certain cities to Moab, transferred men to them who were to foster at least one industry: that of sheep-raising. The restoration of *nōkēd* (נקד) on the basis of a dubious (נ)[1] at the end of line 30, and 2 Kings iii, 4, "and Mesha king of Moab was a *nōkēd*," and the "sheep of the land" in line 31 after a lacuna of about eleven letters constitute a double reference to what may be the same sheep. From such a passage as Isaiah xvi, 6-12 we are safe in inferring that Moab's vineyards were at least as famous as her pasture grounds. The lacuna in line 31 may, therefore, have referred to the vine-dressers as well as to the shepherds whom Mesha transplanted. The lost phrase may, therefore, have been something like: "I led there [the planters of vineyards and shepherds of the] sheep of the land" ([ונטעי כרמם ורעי] צאן הארץ).[2]

N. S. DONIACH.

2. *The deity Yaz.*—Among Professor Sir Flinders Petrie's finds at Tell el-Ajjūl was a black jasper scarab bearing the legend "Yaz-su'a-Mera." (*Catalogue of Exhibition*, 1931, p. 8). Petrie renders this "May Yaz satisfy Mera," and suggests that "Yaz is the name of a deity, probably Syrian, as in the name of Jezebel, 'Yaz is lord'." I venture to suggest that this comparison is unsound, because the name Jezebel is clearly to be divided אי + זבל in which the second element is probably to be connected with Ass. *zabalu* "be high." This division is indicated by such parallel formations as *e.g.* I-Tanith איתנת (*CIS* i, 542[3]), and I-Zaphōn (איצפן, Lidzbarski, p. 214), as also the Biblical I-Thamar and Ichabod (*cf.* Jochebed). The comparison of the name Baal-Zaphōn beside I-Zaphōn and Baal-zebul beside I(Je)-zebel confirms the correctness of the division.

It has occurred to me as more likely that the divine name Yaz underlies Jeziel (יזיאל) in 1 Chronicles xii, 3. But even here caution must be exercised, for it is equally possible that the first element is here a verb. We may perhaps compare the names Iazi- Dagan, Iazu- Dagan, Iazi- erah,, etc., in "East-Canaanite" names listed by Bauer.

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[1] An *m* can be clearly seen in the excellent reproduction in Dussaud's *Les Monuments Palestiniens et Judaiques* (1912).

[2] Possibly "Moabite sheep," *cf.* the use of "the land" for Moab in line 29, and in the Old Testament for Canaan, Gen. xii, 5, etc.

THEODOR H. GASTER.

3. *The legend M-z-h.*—At Tell el-Nasbeh a jar-handle was found bearing the legend מצה (Badé, *Quarterly Statement of P.E.F.*, 1930, p. 14). This has been read *mazzah* and referred to the Passover. I suggest that the legend is to be read as an imperative (Qal or Piel) of the verb *maẓah* = "drain to last drop"; *cf.* perhaps Ass. *meẕu*, "a species of wine." The legend now corresponds exactly with the expressions χαῖρε καὶ πίει εὖ and πίου ἐμέ found on Greek kylikes. (Brit. Mus. Second Vase Room, Cases 48, 49). It is interesting in this connection to observe that LXX renders "them that contend with thee" אנשי מצותך in Isaiah xli, 12, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἳ παροινήσουσιν εἰς σέ.

THEODOR H. GASTER.

4. *Tid'al* (Gen. xiv. 1), *Trg-tṯs and Trg-nns.*—In the *Orientalistische Lit.-Zeitung* for December, Dr. Wreszinski draws attention to two Hyksos names: T̠*rg-t̠ts* and *Trg-nns* (Atlas II, 101, No. 3, 14). Associating them with the LXX versions of the name Tid'al (θαργαλ, θαλγαλ, θαλγα) he rejects the more or less accepted identification, with the Hittite *Tudḫaliya*, and proposes, instead, an original *Thargel.* To this there are formidable objections.

The letters *r* and *d* resemble each other both in Hebrew-Phœnician and in later Hebrew Alphabets, and are therefore not seldom confounded in the original texts as well as in their Greek translations. We cannot doubt that in some of the old LXX texts the name of Tid'al was transliterated correctly, *i.e.*, with *d* (so Josephus, *Ant.* I, 123: θαδαλος). Eventually the Greek Δ was mistaken for Greek Λ, an error quite common in Greek texts.[1] So there came to life the second LXX version: θαλγαλ.

A Greek or Egyptian *g*, rendering a Hebrew 'a, points usually to the Semitic gh (Arabic *ghain*) and to a cuneiform *h* equivalent

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[1] See Schlatter, *Die Hebräischen Namen bei Josephus* (1913), 6.

(in this case) to the Hebrew ʻa (gh): e.g. *ʻazzah* = *γαζα* = gdt (Egyptian) = *Ḫ*azati (El Amarna Tablets); *shinʻār* = Sngr (Egyptian) = Shanḫar (El Amarna Tablets), etc. So, in *θαλγαλ* the *g* obviously corresponds to a Hebrew ʻ*a* and cuneiform h, and can by no means be regarded as a proper and authentic *g*.

For Wreszinski's *el* there is no justification whatever. Neither Hebrew nor Greek texts contain any trace of an *ĕ*. In fact the names ending with -el are transliterated in Greek, as a rule, with *ηλ*, not with *αλ*.[1]

The omission of the last *l* in *θαλγα* is another argument against *el*, and at the same time an instructive illustration of the confusion reigning in the LXX texts as regards the name of Tidʻal. The Greek versions of that name are neither a reliable basis, nor do they allow even in their present state, Dr. Wreszinski's conclusions. The Hebrew version, *Tidʻal*, still holds good, and there seems to be less reason than ever to doubt its identity with the Hittite royal name, *Tudḫaliyash*.

There also seems to be no reason, nor necessity, to associate the two above-mentioned Hyksos names with Tidʻal. Their first element *Trg* corresponds perfectly to the name of the Northern, non-Semitic deity Tarqu, Tarḫu, which we find in the Biblical names Terah and Tirhana (1 Chron. ii, 48). Both Hyksos names are of exactly the same formation as the well-known Cilician names: Tarḫundarans, King of Arzawa (El Amarna Tablets, No. 31), Tarqudimme, King of Cilicia (?)[2], Tarkondemos or Tarkondimotos, a Cilician prince of the 1st Century.[3]

The name Tarqu-Tarhu is at home in Northern Mesopotamia and all over Asia Minor; and it may be traced farther to the West as far as Italy (Tarquinius). We may, therefore, read Trg-ṯts as Tarqudattash. The transliteration of the Northern *t* with the Egyptian *ṯ* in the Hyksos period presents no difficulty, seeing that Thutmose III (about 1504-1450 B.C.) transcribes the name of Mitanni as M n. The other Hyksos name is evidently Tarqu-nanash. As to its second element, compare the Biblical name Nun, Babylonian

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[1] Schlatter, *op. cit.*, 61.

[2] A. H. Sayce, *The Hittites* (1925), p. 126 f.

[3] *Ib*, p. 122.

Nūnā, Nuniya, the Goddess Nin, and the Kerkuk names: Na-ni-ia and Na-na . . .[1]

Both names furnish further evidence for the presence of Northern, non-Semitic elements, among them Aryans (note dattaš), in the Hyksos invasion, along with Mntyw, Āmw, and kindred Semitic tribes, who poured forth in great numbers from Palestine and North-East Arabia, and eventually submerged in Egypt to a great extent the initial foreign kernel.

A. Reubeni, Jerusalem.

5. *The Funerary Tablet of Uzziah* (*Q.S.*, 1931, pp. 217-221). Dr. Sukenik writes, by way of supplement, to say that his explanation of the second word (p. 218) seems distinctly preferable to the suggestion that it is a first person singular of the active (*haf'el*), "I have brought," which would involve the introduction of an unnamed individual. He refers also to a lecture given by Mme Elisabeth Loukianoff at a meeting of the Institut d'Egypte in Cairo, dealing with the collection of antiquities in the Russian Convent on the Mount of Olives, Jerusalem.[2] He says:—"According to Mme Loukianoff the text reads in translation as follows: 'Aux jours Josia, roi des Hébreux. Salut à sa maison.' Readers of the *Q.S.* will be able to see from the very clear plate accompanying his article that there is no ground for the Hebrew which this pre-supposes. Mme Loukianoff quotes Prof. Moritz with regard to the date of the tablet. According to him the letters resemble the Palmyrene script of the second and third centuries of the Christian Era. It is a well-known fact, that there exists a resemblance between the non-archaic Maccabean and Herodian scripts in general and the Palmyrene cursive, but the resemblance between the script of our tablet and the script on monuments of the last two centuries B.C. and the first century A.D., such as the boundary stone from Gezer, the mausoleum of Benē Hezir, the bilingual text on the sarcophagus discovered in the Tombs of the Kings by de Saulcy, and ossuaries in

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[1] C. J. Gadd, *R.A.*, xxiii (1926), p. 28.

[2] Le Musée du Couvent Russe du Mont des Oliviers à Jerusalem, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte*, t. 13, session 1930-1, p. 97 ff.

general, is too evident to require any comparison with documents outside the territory of Palestine." With regard to the formula "and not to be opened," says Dr. Sukenik, "I recently came across another example of it on a closing stone, now in the Dormitio, in Jerusalem, discovered in 1907 and left undeciphered until now. It is one more instance of what we might consider as a rule in archæological hermeneutics, that once a good solution to a puzzle has been found, it will serve as a key to others, and a warning not to consider things impossible because no explanation has presented itself as yet. On such occasions it is much safer to confess ignorance."

E. L. Sukenik, Jerusalem.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

HEBREW.	ENGLISH.		HEBREW.	ENGLISH.
א	’		כ	k̲h̲
בּ	b		ל	l
ב	b̲h̲		מ	m
גּ	g		נ	n
ג	g̲h̲		ס	s
דּ	d		ע	‘
ד	d̲h̲		פּ	p
הּ	h		פ	f
ו	v, w		צ	ẕ
ז	z		ק	ḵ
ח	ẖ		ר	r
ט	ṯ		שׁ	s̲h̲
י	y		שׂ	ṣ
כּ	k		תּ	t
			ת	t̲h̲

ARABIC.

ARABIC.	ENGLISH.		ARABIC.	ENGLISH.
ا	’		ض	ḏ
ب	b		ط	ṯ
ت	t		ظ	t̲z̲
ث	t̲h̲		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	g̲h̲
ح	ẖ		ف	f
خ	k̲h̲		ق	ḵ
د	d		ك	k
ذ	d̲h̲		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	s̲h̲		و	w
ص	ẕ		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus:—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

The office of the P.E.F. will be closed from Monday, 8th August, re-opening on Thursday, 8th September. Letters posted to the office during that period will be forwarded by the Post Office, but matters of special urgency may be addressed to Dr. E. W. G. Masterman (Hon. Sec. P.E.F.), St. Giles' Hospital, Camberwell, S.E.5.

The Sixty-seventh Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held on Thursday, June 16th, at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W., the Bishop of Rochester, the Right Rev. Dr. M. Linton Smith, D.S.O., in the chair. The meeting was well attended, and listened with appreciation to the account, illustrated with numerous slides, given by Mr. G. M. Fitzgerald of his recent excavations at Beisan (Beth-Shan). A more formal account of Mr. Fitzgerald's work will be found in this number (see pp. 138 *ff.*). Sir Frederic Kenyon read reports, which had recently been received from Mr. Crowfoot, on the excavation at Samaria. These and the proposals for 1933, and a subsequent letter from Mr. Crowfoot, are printed below (see pp. 111, 132, 134). The Chairman of the Executive Committee, Sir Charles Close, made reference to the proposed reconstruction of the ground floor of the Fund's Offices, which will considerably improve their efficiency. The Bishop of Rochester, in the course of a most interesting address, made the important suggestion that it might be worth while to mark on the next new map of Palestine not merely all the sites that have been excavated, but all *tells* with such evidence as is available as to the date of their civilization. He drew attention to some of the more recent discoveries, in particular the skeletons of a new species of man which had been found near Athlit. In conclusion, he remarked that the work which the Fund had succeeded in accomplishing in the course of its sixty-eight years testified not only to the richness of the material, but also to the skill and ability of the various people who have set themselves to the task.

The Bishop, in common with one or two other speakers, made some reference to the necessarily somewhat controversial aspects of the results of excavation which are apt to arise. In particular a recent review by Professor Stanley Cook, written under his signature, as an ordinary contributor, and not as editor, was specially mentioned. It may be added that the Editor has asked Professor Garstang to write for the *Quarterly Statement* a full review of the new and important book by Dr. W. F. Albright, the leading archæological authority, entitled *The Archæology of Palestine and the Bible*. This Professor Garstang has kindly consented to do for an early number of the *Q.S.*, and readers will look forward with keen interest to his comments upon our contributor's remarks.

Some account of Professor Garstang's work at Jericho has already appeared in the Press ; and we are glad to be able to give in this issue a summary of his more important results.

Among the articles which have had to be held over for the next number are a detailed and fully illustrated account by Mr. Chitty of his study of the Monastery of St. Euthymius ; and a note by Mr. Narkiss, of Jerusalem, of fresh evidence for the cult of the Dioscuri at Sebaste.

Mr. Crowfoot's account of his work at Samaria (p. 132) is to be supplemented by a letter written by him on June 4th, and read at the Annual Meeting. He says :—

> The ivories and the walls are, of course, far the most important of our discoveries ; but another interesting find also has been made in the so-called hippodrome. The plastered room found last year under the western colonnade has been further explored, and we have unearthed a statue of Koré, wearing a veil above her head, and holding a torch in the right hand, and some ears of corn with a pomegranate in the left. The statue is under life-size and in good preservation ; it may be dated about 200 A.D. Besides this, the finds on this spot include a second female figure which is headless, a nude male figure which is also headless, and two Greek inscriptions referring to Koré, one a graffito on the wall of the plastered room, the other in red paint on a marble slab, and both of real interest. Excavations are still proceeding in this area.

Professor Sir Flinders Petrie will hold the annual exhibition of Canaanite and Hyksos antiquities, July 11 to August 6 (10 a.m to 5 p.m.), at University College, Gower Street, W.C.1. An interesting and illustrated summary of his discoveries at Tell el-Ajjul, the site of Gaza, appeared in the *Illustrated London News* of May 14—enough to whet one's appetite for more. For Gaza the " Troy " of south-western Asia was ten times its size, and what has already been brought to light, shows how widely spread were the connections between different civilisations as early as about 1500 B.C., and how ancient was such a custom as civic purifications by fire. Further, Sir Flinders is of opinion that he has found proof of horse-sacrifice and hippophargy during the period of the Hyksos. The horse was found to be in Palestine some 20,000 years before, but it disappeared until re-introduced by these " shepherd kings."

A propos of Father Mallon's article in the January *Q.S.* on the Five Cities of the Plain, Mr. David Gibson of Holden, Alberta

(Canada), writes recalling some of the arguments advanced by Canon Tristram in favour of the northern site. These are given in *Picturesque Palestine*, edited by Sir Charles W. Wilson (vol. i, pp. 157-161). It should be added that Father Mallon has written to supplement, and in part, rectify some of his remarks in that article. Further study has convinced him that the "inscribed pebbles" were not authentic, and we have to regret that a letter of his to that effect reached us too late to use. He now recognises as authentic only numbers 7 and 12 on Plate I (facing p. 76). He says: "These pebbles are amulets with very simple signs. The plate, however, will serve to show the difference between an original and an imitation." We hope to print his remarks in full in the next issue.

We regret to have to record the death of the Rev. Dr. Lewis Bayles Paton, who acted as the Fund's Honorary General Secretary in the United States from 1909 to 1919. Dr. Paton was Professor of Old Testament exegesis at the Hartford Theological Seminary since 1900, and was a well-known scholar in the field of Old Testament studies and ancient Oriental History. In 1903 and 1904 he was director of the American School of Oriental Study and Research, and besides being keenly interested in Palestinian archæology was not less interested in that of New Mexico which he often visited.

Professor Burkitt writes *a propos* of the Greek inscription published in the last issue, p. 84, that the second word on the first line should be read *B E*—the *B* has this form for the centuries i, ii, v.-vii.

We take the following interesting note from *The Near East and India* (June 9):—Testimony from the tomb, definitely establishing the site of Mizpah, came to light in the most recent excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh, proving conclusively that the Biblical fortress was located on this site. The testimony was in the form of a beautifully-worked agate seal, inscribed in old Hebrew characters, showing that it belonged to Jaazaniah, one of King Zedekiah's principal officers, and mentioned in II. Kings xxv, 23 and Jeremiah xl, 8. The word, "Yaazanyahu" (God heareth), is spelt on the seal exactly as in the Hebrew Scriptures. Beneath it is in Hebrew, "Servant of the King," and on a third line a well-etched design of a crowing cockerel, with spurs on its taut legs. The seal was found in Jaazaniah's tomb in the west necropolis, and its age has been established at 2,500 years. The excavators were the expedition of the Pacific School of Religions, Berkeley, California, directed by Prof. W. F. Badé. The construction at Mizpah, now called Tell en-Nasbeh, with its religious sanctuaries, cisterns, and granaries, make this one of the most fascinating Biblical sites of Palestine. Twenty of the tombs, from 2500 B.C. to Byzantine times, were found to have been rifled by ancient grave-robbers.

Annual No. 5 contains Mr. Crowfoot's report on his work at Ophel and the Tyropoeon Valley during the excavating season of 1927. He was assisted by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, Assistant-Director of the British School of Archæology, who has written the second part of the book dealing with the pottery and smaller finds, while Mr. Crowfoot describes the buildings and levels, analysing the stratification of the site from the earliest times to the Arab Conquest and the Crusading period. The volume contains as frontispiece the Old Gate from the north-west, 22 other plates, and 21 illustrations, there are 131 pages of letterpress and an index. Price 31s. 6d. to non-members.

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archæology in Egypt dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

Antiques for Sale.—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

Miss C. M. Finn has kindly presented to the Fund seven pieces of Archaic Greek pottery, five vases of which are certified by the British Museum as Corinthian ware dating from the seventh century, B.C. Miss Finn instructs that they be offered for sale, and that the proceeds be devoted to the work of the Fund. Interested collectors are invited to call at 2, Hinde Street, and inspect them.

The new plan of Jerusalem on a scale of approximately 1 : 5,000, or about 12 inches to a mile, recently published by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, is now on sale at the P.E.F. office. Unmounted it measures 39 × 34 inches, and the price is 5s. ; mounted on cotton and folded to size 8 × 6 inches, price 9s. The latter form is the more convenient, as owing to its size the unmounted sheet cannot be sent through the post without a fold.

Churches at Jerash.—A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928-1930, by J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A., has been published as Supplementary Paper No. 3 by the Council of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, and can be obtained at 2, Hinde Street. Price 5s. The reduced price to members of the P.E.F. or B.S.A.J. is 2s. 6d.

The library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains some duplicate volumes. They may be purchased, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found on p. 115.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND INCOME TAX. The attention of Subscribers is drawn to the leaflet enclosed with this number, the use of which will enable the Fund to benefit by the recovery of Income Tax.

The Annual Report of the Palestine Exploration Fund, with Accounts and List of Subscriptions for 1931 was issued with the April number.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £15 15s. Subscriber's price £14 14s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5 except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East, April 21. "Mutual Co-operation" in Palestine.

Annual of the British School at Athens, Vol. xxx. The copper mines of Cyprus, by O. Davies ; two protopalatial houses at Knossos, by H. W. and J. D. S. Pendlebury.

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Ancient Egypt, March. Palaces of Ancient Gaza, by Sir Flinders Petrie ; Ancient defences of Gaza, by Lieut.-Col. N. P. Clarke.

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Revue Biblique, April. Exploration in the SE. of the Jordan valley, by F.-M. Abel ; ceramics and chronology, by L.-H. Vincent.

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Orientalia, i, 1, 1932. Old South Arabian inscriptions, by Mordtmann and Mittwoch ; Barhebraeus on the rational soul, by G. Furlani ; the dialogue of the pessimist with his soul (Egyptian), by P. Suys ; Articles on Akhadian subjects by Witzel, G. R. Driver, and N. Schneider. (Published by the Pontifical Institute, Rome.)

Biblica, xiii, 2. Jewish conceptions of the life beyond, by I. B. Frey ; the fortified sites S.E. o the valley of the Jordan, by A. Mallon ; etc.

Archiv Orientalni, iv, 1.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, liv, 4. Eleutheropolis in the ivth cent. A.D., by Gustave Beyer ; Jehud (Josh. xix, 45), etc., by Otto Eissfeldt ; the Taraxippos in the hippodrome of Caesarea Palestine, by Joachim Jeremias, etc

Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft, 1932, i. The religious aspects of Hebrew kingship, by C. R. North ; an old Mediterranean temple-type by H. Thiersch ; etc.

Die Passahfeier der Samaritaner, by J. Jeremias. (Töpelmann, Giessen.

Archiv für Orientforschung, vii, 5-6. Survey of recent archæological research, by P. Thomsen, etc. ; articles on Mesopotamian archæology by D. Opitz, Schwenzner, Dombart, etc.

Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, xii, 1-2. "Convallis Mambre," by F. Stumme ; two Jewish hypogaea, by E. L. Sukenik ; the Holy Rock and the Old Testament, by H. W. Hertzberg ; the Hyksos, by Jirku ; Palestinian nursery rhymes, by St. H. Stephan ; the volcanic phenomena of the Exodus, by W. J. Phythian-Adams ; No. 3 : the historial geography and topography of the Negeb, by A. Alt ; Daroma, by M. Burrows; geological problems on the S. side of the lake of Tiberias, by Leo Picard ; review of Garstang's *Joshua-Judges*, by A. Alt.

The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Information for Students.

La Revue de l'Académie Arabe.

Al-Mashriq, February-March. The psychology of the Pre-Islamic Bedouins, by P. Lammens ; gold mines of Syria, by Martin Gire (continued in April.)

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, December. Notes on Exodus, by M. Bella (continued in February issue) ; graves within and without Jerusalem.

Bible Lands, April. In Memoriam number to Bishop MacInnes The Caves of Machpelah.

Meteorological Summaries, 1930. Issued by the Government of Palestine, Department of Agriculture and Forests.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Isräliten.* (Leipzig, 1837).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems* (1890).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath* already in the Library ; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identification and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of———— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE 67TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Sixty-Seventh Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held at the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.1, on Thursday, 16th June, 1932, when The BISHOP OF ROCHESTER (The Right Rev. M. Linton Smith, D.S.O., D.D.) presided, and Mr. G. M. FitzGerald gave an account of his recent excavations at Beisan (Beth-Shan). In addition, Sir Frederick Kenyon read reports recently received from Mr. Crowfoot on the excavation at Samaria.

Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN (Hon. Secretary), read the Minutes of the 66th Annual Meeting held on 18th June, 1931, and these, having been confirmed, were signed by the Chairman.

Apologies for absence were received from Professor J. L. Myres, Brig.-Gen. E. M. Paul, Dr. Cecil Curwen, Professor S. A. Cook, Sir George Adam Smith, and Prof. Garstang. A letter from Sir Robert Mond was read as follows :—

" Will you kindly apologise to Sir Charles Close, the members of the Council and those attending the meeting my regret not to be able to attend the Annual Meeting ?

" In addition to our joint report as Treasurers, I need only repeat the importance of obtaining a greater interest in our work, manifesting itself in a large increase of our annual subscribers. To attain this object, we must not only, as we have suggested, create fresh branches with energetic secretaries, but also ask our present subscribers to use their personal efforts to obtain an increase.

My personal connection with various societies as Chairman or Treasurer, has taught me the importance of a large body of subscribers even if individually subscribing small sums. The general interest taken in, and consequently increasing importance and standing of the Society facilitates the attaining of substantial support from individuals, who might otherwise lend their support to private enterprises with the consequential splitting up of available intellectual and financial co-operation.

Yours very faithfully,
ROBERT MOND."

The Hon. Secretary also reported that the following 14 Subscribers had qualified for full Membership of the Fund during the past year :—

Francis D. Bacon, Esq.
Sheldon H. Blank, Esq.
J. Eide, Esq.
C. A. Ladson, Esq.
Rev. D. M. McIntyre, D.D.
Rev. Canon J. Parfit.
Ven. Archdeacon Stewart.
Major A. F. Becke.
Dr. Lydston Crimp.
Rev. W. R. Hutton.
Jewish National University.
Dr. A. E. Mader.
M. Peter Pazmany Tudcmaneygyetem.
Dr. Heyman Wreford.

Sir CHARLES CLOSE (Chairman, Executive Committee) then said: I beg to propose the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts which are already in the hands of Subscribers and perhaps may be taken as read. It will be seen in the Report that we have to mourn the loss of some eminent members of our Society, notably Canon Dalton, who accompanied the King in his journey to Palestine fifty years ago ; Dr. MacInnes, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East ; and Dr. Cowley, Bodleian Librarian. We must, unfortunately, add to that list the name of the Rev. Prof. L. B. Paton, who had been our General Secretary in the United States from 1909 to 1919, and had previously been the Director of the American School of Archæology in Jerusalem (1903-4).

On behalf of the Fund, the Executive Committee agreed to co-operate in the excavation of Samaria, with Harvard University, the British School of Archæology, the British Academy and the Hebrew University. The excavations are proceeding, and the Fund is due, by agreement, to contribute during this year (1932) the sum of £1,000. This is being done ; we have, in fact, paid half, and the other half will be paid during the remainder of the year.

If the excavations are continued next year, it will be necessary for the four bodies interested on this side of the Atlantic to see what can be done, between them, to raise the necessary funds.

As mentioned in the Annual Report, it has been decided by the Executive Committee to reconstitute the ground floor of our house, No. 2, Hinde Street, in such a way that, when the reconstruction is completed, the Fund will possess, for the benefit of its members, a suitable lecture room, a small museum and a properly organised library. We are enabled to carry out these very desirable improvements because the leases of the basements fall in December next, and we shall then be able to use the basements as stores, and be able to free the ground floor of a good deal of miscellaneous material, thus making the best use of the space available. The reconstruction will be commenced in January next and the work may very probably be completed by the time of the next General Meeting.

Before I sit down I should like to express what all of us feel, and that is our pleasure at learning of the honour bestowed upon our Honorary Treasurer, Sir Robert Mond, by His Majesty the King.—(Applause.)

Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN seconded the proposition that the Report and Accounts be adopted, whereupon Mr. W. C. EDWARDS asked if he would be in order at that juncture in making some remarks with regard to the editorial work.

The CHAIRMAN replied that the question had been discussed by the Executive Committee and he had been asked to rule that it should be brought forward not on the adoption of the Report but under the election of the Executive Committee.

The Report and Accounts were adopted without further discussion.

On the motion of Dr. MASTERMAN, seconded by Sir CHARLES MARSTON, the Rev. G. T. Graham-Browne, O.B.E., Bishop Designate of Jerusalem, was elected to the General Committee.

Mr. W. H. Boulton proposed the re-election of the Executive Committee as at present constituted.

The Rev. T. Harrison seconded, and added that he had had the advantage of a very long connection with the Fund and therefore knew the esteem in which it was held in various parts of the country, in the public schools and elsewhere. Again and again it had been his pleasure to listen to tributes to the wisdom and steady administration of the Executive Committee, tributes that had been spontaneous and, from his point of view, very well deserved. A Committee such as that, dealing with important questions of archæology, would have no difficulty in rousing all kinds of controversy from nearly every point of the compass, but from the inception of its work until the present time the Executive Committee of the Fund had displayed great wisdom and discretion in the way in which it had administered the Fund's affairs. Therefore, he had great pleasure in moving the re-election of the Executive Committee and felt sure all would endorse the hope that that Committee might enjoy a very prosperous year.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. W. C. Edwards, who said: I have spent the last two winters in Palestine, having only recently returned, and I may say I know a little about the vast subject of exploration of Palestine. Seventy years ago the founders of this Fund founded it in the belief that every turn of the spade would show how true and how reliable are the records of Holy Scripture. In our published papers we say: " Although the Society is not a religious Society strictly, so called, its work necessarily possesses unusual interest for Bible students of all denominations, who find in the results obtained by exploration much that confirms and illustrates the historical truth of both the Old and the New Testaments. In the course of its existence, the Society, with limited funds at its disposal, has done an immense amount of work, and published the results in books, papers, maps, plans, and photographs, primarily for the benefit of its subscribers, and for the advantage of students of Holy Scriptures." So that this Society really exists as a Society for exploring the Holy Land and proving the truth of Holy Scriptures. Now, with those objects, it has received a great deal of support, especially from my very honoured friend, Sir Charles Marston. We owe to him and to others the wonderful work which has been done at Jericho. Now, Professor Garstang has not only examined Jericho but he has examined other sites and has written a book which is reviewed by the Editor of the *Quarterly Statement*, from p. 96 of which I quote these words : " In any event, it is extremely helpful to have such a volume as this one wherein is set forth what in the opinion of a competent archæologist is the best case that can be made for establishing a view of the Foundations of Bible History that adheres more closely to the biblical sources than do the views of more sceptical writers like myself." If those are the views, and if that is the way in which our editor is going to treat the discoveries made in Palestine, the sooner we have another editor the better, and I respectfully suggest we should ask him to resign.

The CHAIRMAN : May I read the Rules laid down by the Archbishop of York at the first meeting of the Fund in 1865 and which Rules govern the work of this body : 1. That the work of the Fund should be carried out on scientific principles which, I take it, means that all evidence, whatever its bearing may be, must be published without any question as to its bearing on any other matter. 2. That the Society should as a body abstain from controversy. 3. That it should not be started nor should it be conducted as a religious Society. The statement has been made in perfectly good faith by the editor of the *Quarterly Statement* in a review of a book of the utmost value, in which he uses an adjective which, as has been pointed out to the speaker, is used in more than one sense. The speaker has, however, chosen to interpret that in a special sense which I do not think can be fairly applied to the Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. There is no attack on the Christian faith ; the editor says he allows less weight to some of the evidence brought forward by Professor Garstang than Professor Garstang does himself, and that is a matter on which men dealing with a scientific question are very likely to differ. Further, the statement was made not as editor, but in a signed review.

Sir CHARLES MARSTON : My Lord, I feel in a very difficult position. Next to Professor Garstang I feel more involved than anybody else in these criticisms. I quite appreciate the point that has been raised by Mr. Edwards, but I hardly like to express an opinion. Professor Garstang would be the man who really would be more concerned. He is not here, but I am under the impression that he is fairly satisfied with the view that Dr. Cook has taken of his book. It is not, perhaps, a view which from the point of view of some of us is entirely satisfactory, but I think it has this about it, that it is more forcible from the fact that Dr. Cook himself is one of those who has committed himself to more Modernist views about the Bible. My recollection of the review is that he more or less confesses that he has got to modify his views. I do not wish to express an opinion one way or the other, but I feel it is very important that archæological discoveries in Palestine should be treated with absolute fairness, and that if there is any prejudice one way or the other, the prejudice should be rather in favour of the traditional point of view than in favour of views which are, after all, based, to a large extent, on evidence which is not archæological.

The CHAIRMAN: We are most grateful to Sir Charles for what he has said. I do not know whether Mr. Edwards is satisfied after having put his views to the meeting?

Mr. EDWARDS: I am quite satisfied to have had an opportunity of expressing them here, and, of course, I am at liberty to publish them far and wide.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, sir.

Mr. EDWARDS: I shall not move any resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

The resolution for the re-election of the Executive Committee was then put and carried.

On the motion of Mr. G. M. FITZGERALD, seconded by Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN, Messrs. Turquand, Youngs & Co., were re-appointed as Auditors for 1932.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Charles Close, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have done a very rash and dangerous thing, in that you have asked someone to speak without naming a subject, and without fixing a definite time limit. When an ecclesiastic begins a discourse he has a perfect right, under those circumstances, to be discoursive, and I have every intention of being discoursive this afternoon; but I hope that my discoursiveness will not interfere with that which is to follow, for we are to hear some most important reports, the first by Mr. Fitzgerald on the excavations at Beisan, and then Sir Frederic Kenyon is to read reports from Mr. Crowfoot on the excavation at Samaria.

I want to begin by referring to two books which have been published within the past year, Professor Garstang's *Joshua and Judges*, and another which I regard as of equal importance from the point of view of the work of this Society, and that is Professor Olmstead's *History of Syria and Palestine.* It seems to me that those two books form two of the most striking collections of material with regard to Syria and Palestine that have seen light for some time past. One of the points about both of them, which comes out at every turn, is that they are written by men who are intimately acquainted with the land. I had the good fortune to meet Professor Olmstead some twenty-five years ago, when he was travelling through Asia Minor with a view to producing that monumental work which was published some little time ago, *The History of Assyria*, and I remember that he then said to me that he had often been puzzled by references on Assyrian monuments to separate kingdoms close together, particularly in the region of Cilicia, but he understood those references when he found there was a mountain range, 10,000 feet high, between the two, though they were very close together as the crow flies. That is one small point in which knowledge of the land made the story which, as it was read, seemed rather doubtful and unlikely, thoroughly credible, and in accordance with facts. Again, both Professor Garstang—and I hope here I am not entering on controversial matter—and Professor Olmstead, one in his preface and the other in the course of his story, point out with regard to different narratives in the Old Testament with which they are dealing, that the *core* of those narratives, that is to say, the earliest stratum as revealed on literary analysis, is of singular historical value. Professor Garstang says that in his Preface, with regard to the stories in Joshua and Judges, and Professor Olmstead says it with regard to the court history of early dynasties of Israel.

Now the insistence on the importance of knowledge of the land brings me back to the work which this Fund undertook at a very early stage in its proceedings, and that is the geographical Survey of Palestine. That work was done somewhat hurriedly, but with considerable care, and the survey has served as the basis of all subsequent geographical work. I think it had another result of importance, of which we shall find the value as days go on, and that is that it also obtained at the time place-names which, even in Palestine, are beginning to disappear. Anyone who is interested in the early history of an English parish will know the immense value of the names of the fields upon tithe maps, but the names are rapidly disappearing and being forgotten. That the survey of Palestine should have been made at a time when Western influence was very little felt in Palestine, and the present mobility of the population had not been made possible, is a matter for which we should be profoundly thankful, for we have a very careful record of the place names as they were known in the country about fifty years ago.

I want to make one suggestion. A new survey of Palestine is being made. There was a short article on the first instalment of it by Sir Charles Close in the *Quarterly Statement* a few months ago; and the Fund is at the moment engaged in preparing a map on which will be marked all sites which have been excavated. I want to suggest that it might be worth while to carry that method a little further, and mark all *tells*, all sites, after a survey, with such evidence as is available as to date of the civilization upon them; a competent archæologist visiting a mound can very soon say whether there are old remains in the shape of pottery lying about on the surface, and judge from these about what date the culture of that mound can be put down to. It would save a good deal of trouble if an archæological survey of that kind were undertaken by this Fund, and done thoroughly all over the country.

Two points I wish to dwell on in this discoursive discourse arise out of recent statements in *The Times* of two successive days. On the 10th June there appeared in that newspaper a record of the opening of Palestine Electric Corporation's first Jordan Power House at Abadieh, the opening having taken place on the previous day by the High Commissioner, General Wauchope. I presume that Abadieh is Tell Abediyeh, which stands about three miles below the exit of the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee, and has recently been proved to be a place of very great historical importance Canon Phythian-Adams has suggested that Tell Abediyeh is the site of a place which is referred to over and over again in the Egyptian inscriptions, Yenoam ; for Tell Abediyeh is of geographical importance, in that it commands the first ford across the Jordan south of the Sea of Galilee, and is on the direct road from Akka, north of Mt. Tabor, across to Fahil (Pella) and the various towns east of the Jordan. It is a real strategic position.

I do not know whether Mr. Fitzgerald is going to say anything about the stele of Seti I, but I allude to it because it is in that stele discovered at Beisan and erected by Seti I that I get connection between the new Jordan Power House and ancient history. Professor Garstang, in the book refered to by more than one speaker this afternoon, calls attention to the fact that the stele of Seti I may be interpreted as giving, from the Egyptian point of view, the story of the establishment of the Ephraimite tribes east of Jordan. He quotes from the xvii chapter of Joshua, verses 11 and 18, in which Joshua is described as directing the tribe of Manasseh to make its way by " the goings down " of the hill country, and apparently to cross to the east of Jordan to establish itself there. The current view is that Manasseh established itself first on the east of Jordan, crossed west to help its brethren, and then returned to the east side ; but there is distinct indication in the passage referred to that the western settlement was made first. Those " goings-down " have a very grim side to them in modern history. I think one of the most appalling maps I know is Operation Map No. 45 in the volume published by the Egyptian Expeditionary Field Force of the rout of the 7th and 8th Turkish Armies in the break through of the British troops in September, 1918. On that map are Ain Shibleh, Ain-el-Beida and another place, marked as three heavily-bombed areas. One of those lies in the Wady Farah ; the other two lie in the Wady Maleh. I have read the description of what that bombing meant. We were successful in upsetting lorries and blocking the valleys early in the day, and then planes flew backwards and forwards over the struggling mass of guns, horses and men, discharging their death-dealing cargoes until those two valleys were a scene of carnage unspeakable. Those are " the goings down " of Manasseh that are referred to in the story of Joshua to which I am referring.

Now the stele of Seti I tells that the "men of Hamath and Pahel combined to shut up Rehob." Pahel is on the east of Jordan; Hamath seems to be the tell of el-Hammeh, which lies about ten miles south of Beisan. One reason for urging an archæological survey of Palestine is that two years ago I spent a weary morning there with Professor Garstang while he was investigating that mound to find it was a Bronze Age site. El-Hammeh may be taken as Hamath of the Seti stele. And then you have the description of three Divisions of the Egyptian Army (Amen, Ra and Sutekh) who were sent to Hamath, Bethshan and Yenoam to block the fords across the Jordan, and to prevent the coalition between Hamath on one side and Pahel on the other, which may well have represented the gradual filtering of the tribe of Manasseh back to the east of Jordan from its first conquered territory to the west. I want to remind you that Professor Sir George Adam Smith has pointed out that Gilead, the part Manasseh held, has always been more conveniently governed from the west of Jordan than the east.

If all Bronze Age sites, all sites with ancient remains, were marked on a map according to the age with which they could be recognised, it would be of great service to those who are working in the country; and it is one of those pieces of work which this Fund might well undertake as assisting in laying the foundations of true archæological knowledge of the country as a whole.

Now I want to remind you that Tell Hammeh, if it has any meaning, implies volcanic action, for I take it that the name means hot springs. I saw no signs of hot springs when I visited it, but on the geological map lava beds are shown close by, and that reminds us of the background of volcanic action which lies behind some of the early stories of the Old Testament. Père Mallon, in his excavation at Tuleilat Ghussul, about three miles to the north-east of the Dead Sea, discovered a site which came to an untimely end by fire about the middle of the Early Bronze Age, about B.C. 2100, and that seems to link itself on very closely with the story of the "Cities of the Plain" which play a prominent part in the story of the Patriarch Abraham. Some of you must have read in the *Quarterly Statement*, about a year and a half ago, that extraordinarily interesting suggestion of Canon Phythian-Adams, based on researches by Professor Musil, the Austrian Professor who before the War became blood brother to the Adwan, and was able to get about east of Jordan in the way that few others have done, and to reach the site of the " harrahs," or lava fields, on the ridge running down the Gulf of Akaba, that the " pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night " was the smoke of an active volcano. An extinct volcano exists on that spot to which, as the Mount of God, Moses may have directed the people. Jebal Tadra is still one which the Bedouin refuse to allow their flocks to draw near, because they have a legend that many beasts were destroyed when they approached that spot in days gone by. There you have another suggestion as to the volcanic background which may lie behind some of the stories of the Old Testament.

The other matter to which I want to draw attention before I bring this discourse to an end is the statement in *The Times* on 11th June, that in the Wady al-Mughar, just east of Athlīt, in the smallest of the three caves excavated, the Magharet es-Sukhul, there were discovered by Mr. MacCown eight skeletons of a new species of man. I think we can leave Sir Arthur Keith and Professor Elliot Smith to fight out among themselves whether it was a new species or a new genus : there has since been vigorous correspondence in *The Times* on the point. But when the Galilee skull was discovered in Wady Hamam, in 1925, and assigned to Neanderthal man, certain peculiar features were noted in it, and though the evidence then was not sufficient to point definitely to another species, the discovery of these new skeletons in the Magharet es-Sukhul has made it quite plain that a new species of man, not *Homo sapiens*, but one of the earlier races of man, has been brought to light in Palestine. I cannot help thinking that some of those who founded the Palestine Exploration Fund would have rubbed their eyes if they had been told that as a result of such work skeletons of a race dating back 15,000 to 20,000 years would be discovered in a Palestinian valley.

My last point is this : the fact of the discovery of these skeletons belonging to this race with its Mousterian culture, which apparently dates back to the last glacial period (Würm) and reminds us of the extraordinary variation of climate in the early stages of the world's development, should give some reason to the further consideration of that extraordinarily interesting theory put out by Mr. Ellsworth Huntington some years ago, in his book *The Transformation of Palestine*, of a pulsatory alternation in the climate. There were those great periods of glaciation and the inter-glacial periods to which the last discovery to which I have referred belongs; but they can scarcely be supposed to have come wholly to an end. In fact, I think even we ourselves in our recent experience may be ready to admit that we have passed through a glacial and pluvial period! But I think not enough attention has been paid to the very careful evidence which Mr. Ellsworth Huntington has given of the converging lines of the raised beaches on the Dead Sea, the extraordinary extent of civilization east of Jordan, where there is now not sufficient water to maintain a population, and one or two other like indications of alternating desiccation and humidity. I think that suggestion is worthy of more consideration than it has so far, apparently, received.

I promised I would be discursive. I did not promise that I would not be too long, but I have tried to leave time—and I hope I have done so—for the more solid fare which is to follow, and which will be concentrated on certain points. I think I ought to thank the audience for the patience with which it has listened to me, and to say that the work which the Palestine Exploration Fund has done in the course of the sixty-eight years of its existence is evidence not merely of the richness of the material on which work has been done, but of the extraordinary skill and ability of the various people who have set themselves to the task.

Mr. G. M. Fitzgerald then gave details of the excavations at Beisan.

(See the more formal account of his work, below, pp. 138*ff*.)

Sir Frederic Kenyon read reports from Mr. Crowfoot on the excavation at Samaria :—

(See below, p. 132.)

Sir Flinders Petrie proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Bishop of Rochester for presiding, to Sir Frederic Kenyon and Mr. Fitzgerald for the accounts they had given, and also to the Society of Antiquaries for the use of the meeting room.

This was seconded by Mr. Bowman and carried amid hearty applause, whereupon the Chairman, in returning thanks, said: I regard it as a great privilege to have been allowed to take the Chair, and not least to be the recipient of a vote of thanks moved by that veteran of archæology, Sir Flinders Petrie, and seconded by Mr. Bowman.

The proceedings then terminated.

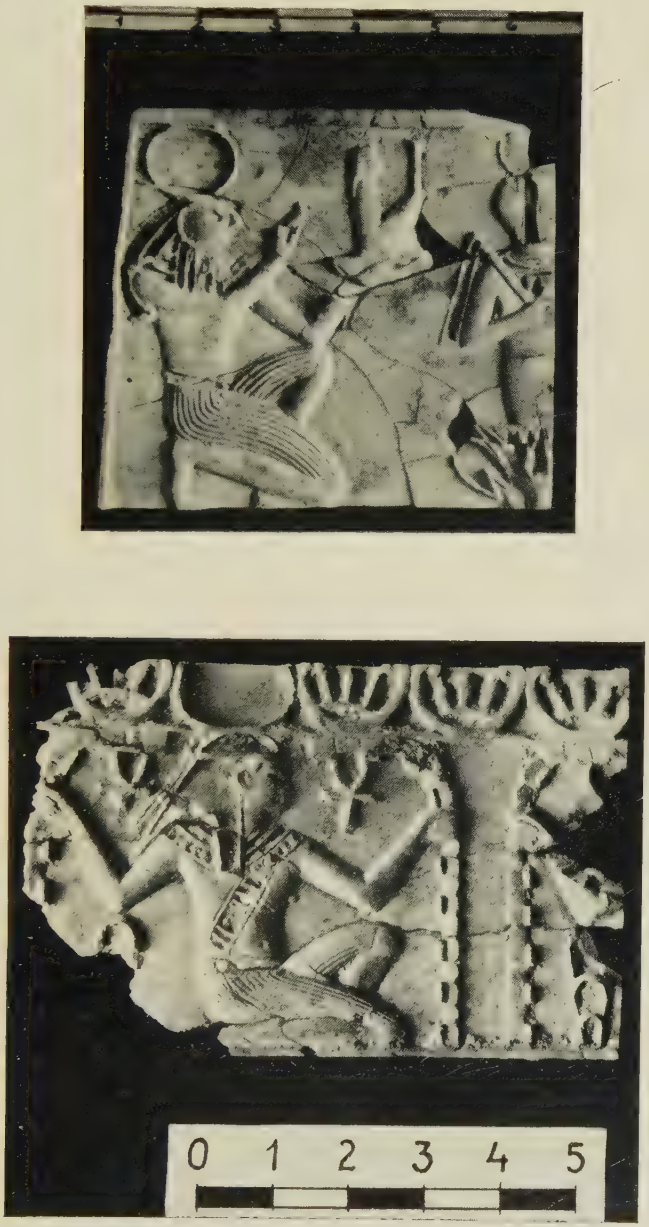
RECENT DISCOVERIES OF THE JOINT EXPEDITION TO SAMARIA.

(*In which Harvard University, The Palestine Exploration Fund, The Hebrew University, and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem are associated.*)

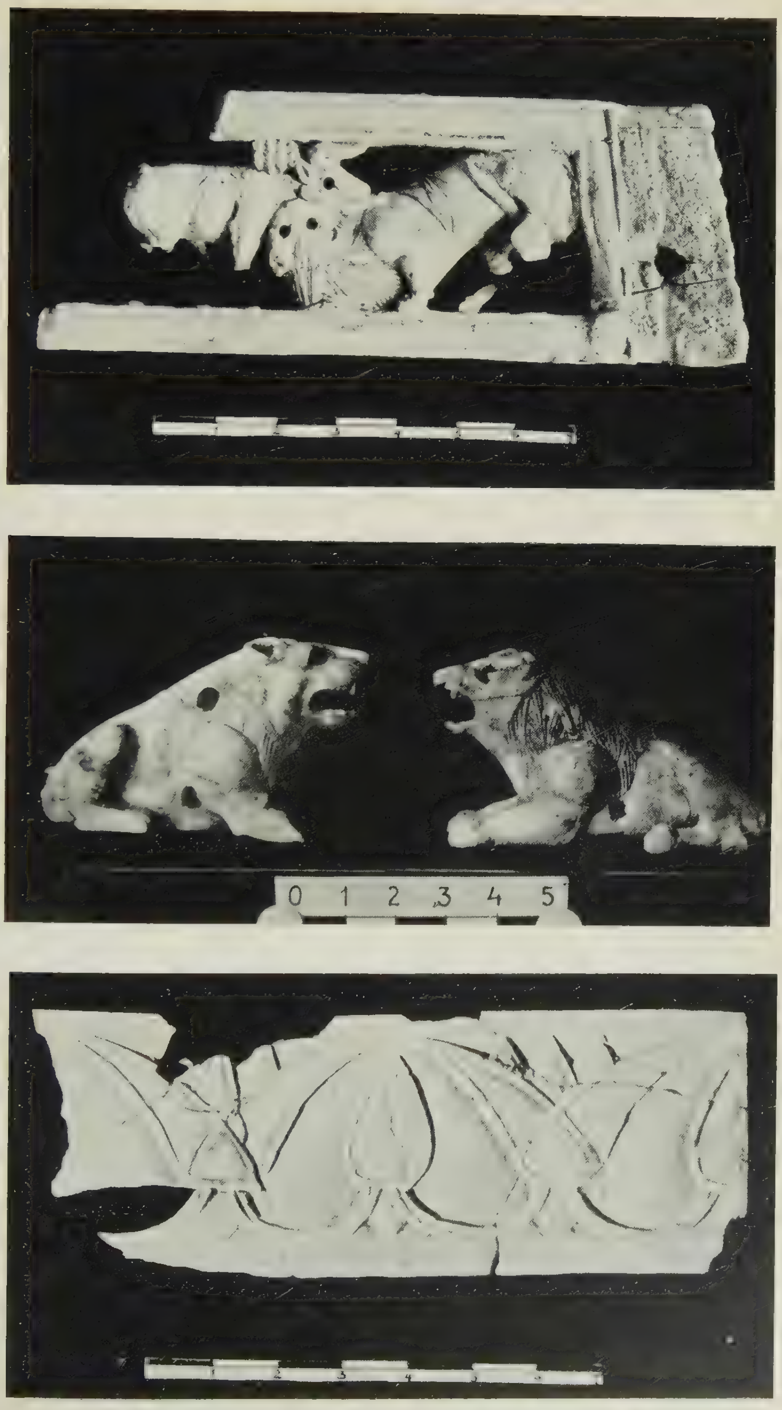
By J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

Excavations at Samaria were resumed in the middle of March, and much new light has been thrown on the wonderful fortifications of the Israelite period and the precision with which they were planned. Samaria was the capital of Israel just when the temporal power of Israel counted for most among the surrounding nations, and the massive walls are striking witnesses to the wealth and advanced civilization of the time. Very few small objects, however, were found until last week, when some splendid fragments of ivory were discovered.

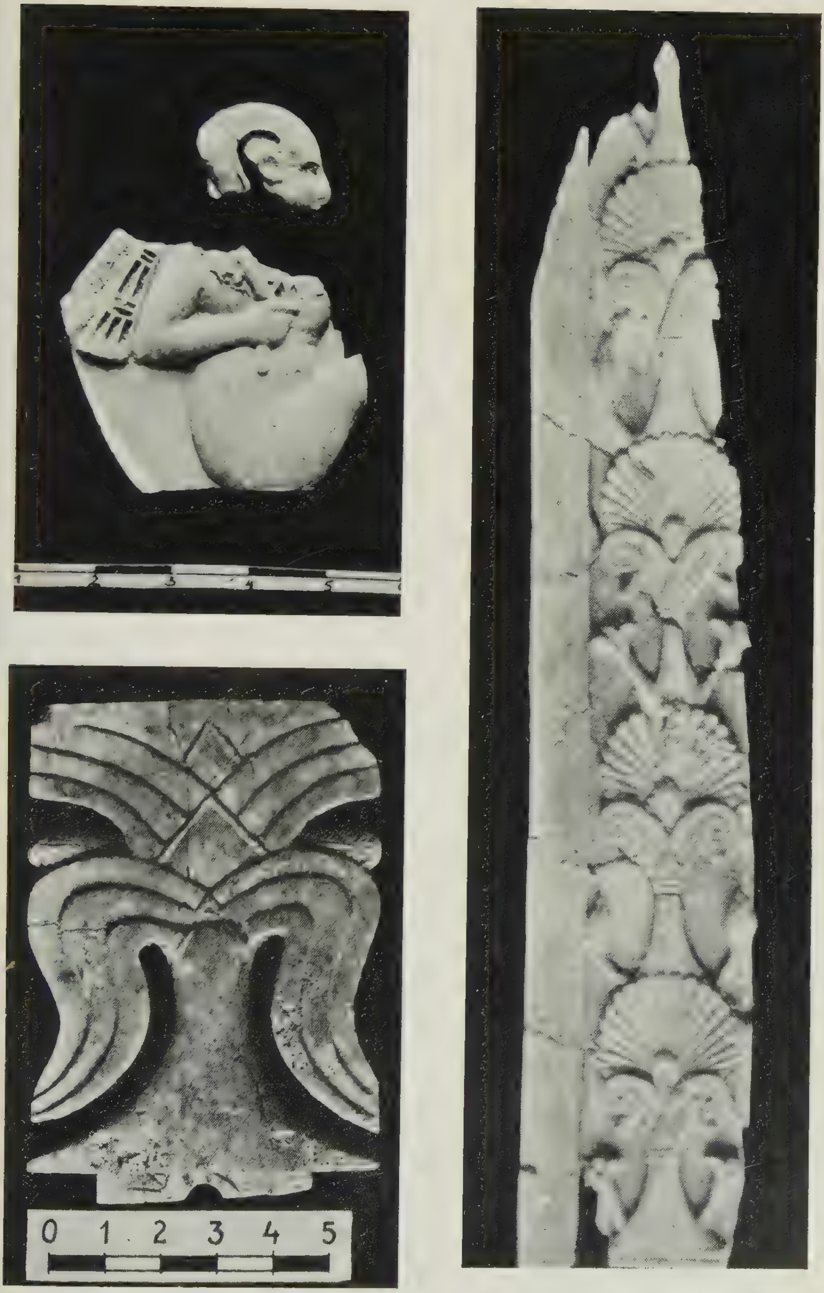
The fragments which have been disengaged up to date—there are many more already in sight—include two crouching lions in the round of exquisite workmanship, some 4.5 cm. high, and a number of small panels in relief. Some of these panels are decorated with figures which are derived from the Egyptian pantheon, among them Ra, the Sun god, holding a figure of Maat, the goddess of Truth, the infant Horus, Isis and Nephthis, and Hah, the personification of Eternity, with the emblem which signifies thousands of years, but on the same panels are patterns and details which suggest that the craftsman was not an Egyptian, a suggestion which is strengthened by the complete absence of hieroglyphics. Another panel in pierced relief which represents a bull being mauled by a lion is more reminiscent of Mesopotamian or Anatolian work, as are two others which represent winged Cherubim. Yet others have decorative patterns, bands of lotus flowers and buds, and complicated designs of the sacred tree type like those in the archaic art of Cyprus and other places. One piece has an early Aramaic letter on the back. The workmanship especially on the decorative pieces is rather uneven, but that of the best fragments is very fine, and there are



SAMARIA: CARVED IVORIES.



Samaria: Carved Ivories.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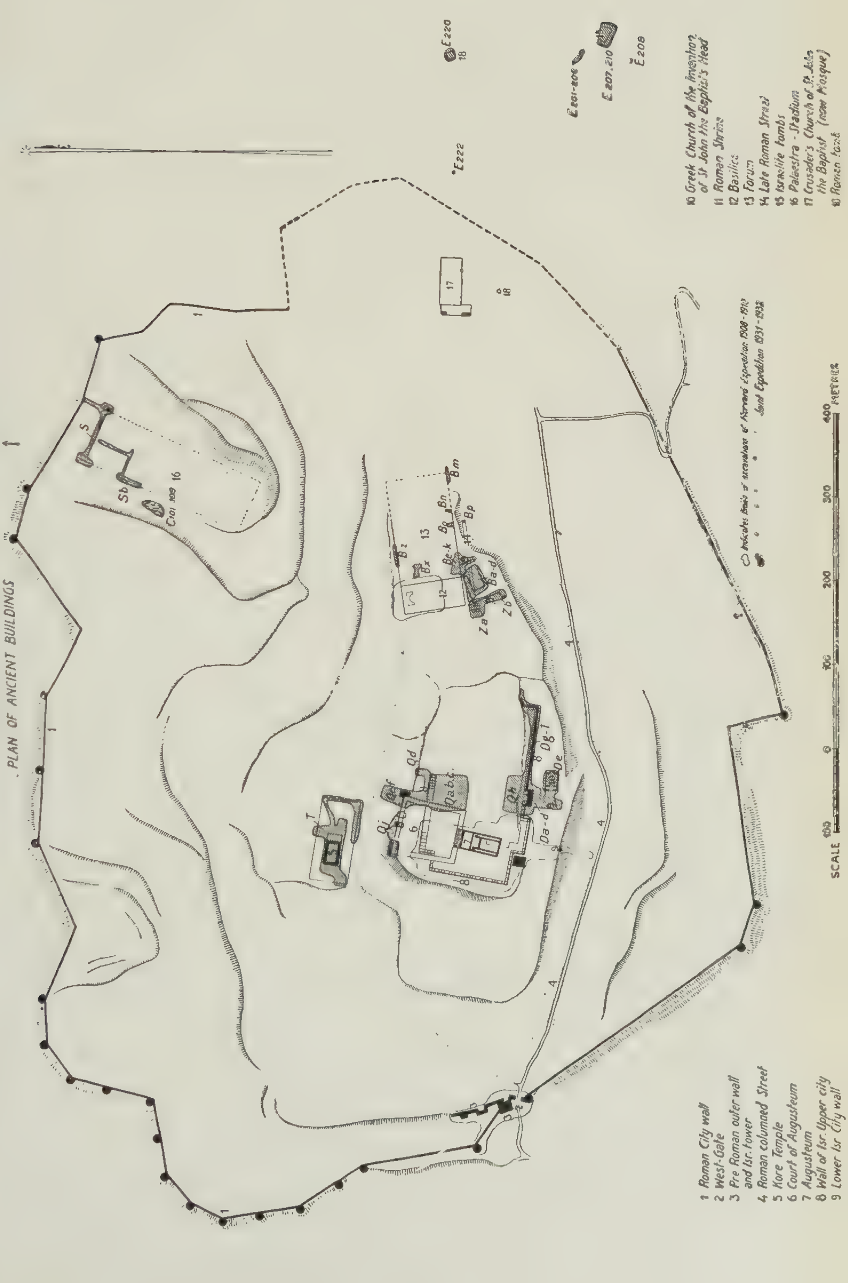
Samaria: Carved Ivories.


SAMARIA - SEBASTE
PLAN OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS
1 Roman City wall
2 West-Gate
3 Pre Roman outer wall and Isr. tower
4 Roman columned Street
5 Kore Temple
6 Court of Augusteum
7 Augusteum
8 Wall of Isr. Upper city
9 Lower Isr City wall
10 Greek Church of the Invention of St John the Baptist's Head
11 Roman Shrine
12 Basilica
13 Forum
14 Late Roman Street
15 Israelite tombs
16 Palaestra - Stadium
17 Crusader's Church of St. John the Baptist (now Mosque)
18 Roman tomb
○ Indicates limits of excavations of Harvard Expedition 1908-1910
● Joint Expedition 1931-1932
SCALE
100
0
100
200
300
400
METERS
S
Sb
C101
C1
T
Qi
Qd
Qa.b.c.
Qh
Da-d
Dg-1
De
Za
Zb
Ba-d
Be-k
Bx
Bz
Bo
Bn
Bp
Bm
E222
E220
E201-206
E207.210
E208

traces of gold foil and blue inlay on some panels. A large number of the fragments show traces of burning.

In style the whole group is very closely related to a series of ivories which were discovered in 1928 at Arslan Tash near Carchemish by a French expedition under the direction of M. Thureau-Dangin. Several of the North Syrian ivories came from the decoration of a bed, and an inscription proved that this bed belonged originally to Haguel, the king of Damascus in the 9th Century. In the examples from Samaria, Egyptian influences are rather more prominent, and the workmanship seems to us more delicate, but both groups obviously proceed from the same school or workshop. M. Thureau-Dangin compares the Arslan Tash group with some ivories found by Layard at Nineveh.

The date of the ivories from Arslan Tash is fixed by epigraphic evidence : at Samaria no inscription has yet been found, but the content of the find points precisely to the same period. The stratum in which our ivories were discovered is full of Israelite potsherds of the eighth and ninth centuries B.C., and it lies within a few centimetres of the rock, between Israelite foundations in the palace enclosure on the summit of the hill. The western portion of this enclosure was excavated more than twenty years ago by the Harvard expedition and a few ivories like those of the much larger group which has just come to light were then discovered by Dr. Reisner, one of his being associated with a vase fragment bearing the cartouche of Osorkon (880-850 B.C.) which proved that it belonged to the great Israelite period. Various buildings in the west part of this area were tentatively identified by the Harvard expedition with Omri, Ahab, and Jeroboam II, but only the order and approximate date of these buildings could be established, not their attribution to any particular king. Our finds have been made about one hundred metres north east of the " Osorkon " house, and it is possible that the greatest of all the palaces, perhaps even the " ivory house " of Ahab, lay in our region. We hope to learn more about this in the next few weeks; meanwhile it is certain that the ivories come from the furnishings of palaces such as those which were denounced by Amos. It would be difficult to imagine a more vivid illustration of Amos' text.

May 30th, 1932.

THE JOINT SAMARIA EXPEDITION.

Proposals for 1933.

By J. W. Crowfoot.

At all periods the principal buildings in Samaria stood on a single central ridge, around which the walls of the city ran. The area enclosed by the walls varied at different times. On the lower slopes of the ridge the line of the outer walls in the Roman period is still visible on three sides of the site ; toward the east and south-east it has disappeared. On the summit at least two series of walls belonging to the Israelite and Hellenistic periods have been discovered, again on three sides only ; the line of these walls on the east and north-east has still to be traced. Intermediate between the lines above mentioned there are fragmentary indications that other concentric lines of walling once ran. No comprehensive picture of the ancient city or its history can be drawn until we have established the limits of the walled area at different periods as well as the disposition and character of the main buildings within these limits.

These are the considerations which have guided us in planning the work of the Joint Expedition during the past two seasons. The principal objectives of the present season were communicated in a report presented last year (see *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1932), and these have been either carried out or are now in process of being carried out. They are :—

1. On the south side of the summit or palace area we have followed the so-called Omri-Scarp to the east (*Dg*-1). Our intention was to trace it until it turned north and then proceed along it ; actually we have now followed it 128 metres east of the most easterly point reached by Reisner, and the turn is not yet certainly in sight. The area enclosed by the supposed palace walls now measures well over 200 metres from east to west, and it is doubtful whether this area should not be more appropriately called the acropolis. In the course of our work a very remarkable type of massive walling which may perhaps be connected with Ahab has been found immediately below the " Omri " scarp in *Dg* and *Dk*. We have also come upon

further sections of the post-Israelite Fort-Wall identified by Reisner as a wall of the Babylonio-Greek period.

2. Still farther to the east in *Z* we have followed the supposed city wall found in 1931 south-west of the threshing floor ; unlike the " Omri-Wall," which proceeds in a perfectly straight line, this wall followed the natural contour of the original rock, which makes it the more difficult to follow. We propose to look for its continuation immediately east of the church in the course of June, 1932.

3. On the north side of the summit a further section of the Israelite palace enclosure wall has been cleared in *Qc* ; this section contained six casemates similar in character to those found by us under the corridor in *Qb* last year, and by Reisner farther west. On the slopes immediately north of *Qb* the substructures of the north-east corner of the precinct of the Augusteum have been excavated ; the great scale of the work is evident, and it is now plain that there were no steps approaching it from the north as was previously supposed. The small finds in this area have included a fine Hellenistic bronze figure and a good Persian sealing.

4. The area on the summit between the enclosure walls mentioned in the previous paragraphs is being methodically cleared. Work here is necessarily slow, but it has been rewarded by the discovery of some splendid ivories and other interesting fragments.

5. In the church the south side of the narthex has been excavated, and the work here is completed.

6. In the so-called Hippodrome (our *S*), work has been started south of the plastered room discovered last year. This room has already been traced for about ten metres, but the plaster has not yet been cleaned. Three or four statues of the Roman period belonging to the Korê-cult have been unearthed. Work also at the south end of this building will be started immediately.

7. The Roman tomb, partly cleared in the autumn, has been completely excavated, and work is proceeding in other tombs nearby.

In 1933 it is suggested that the following objectives be attacked:

I. The east side of the palace enclosure must be found unless it is reached before the present season ends.

II. The work on the summit between the walls should be continued in the hopes of learning more about the plan and disposition of the Israelite palace buildings. Work here, though tedious owing to the amount of late buildings above the Israelite strata, has already proved very remunerative, and its continuation gives the best hope for discovering more ostraca or other inscriptions.

III. The line of the north city wall in the Israelite period still remains to be found. The work of the last two seasons has eliminated a possible stretch of land from *Qb* to *T*, and it will now be necessary to make a series of soundings on likely lines north of *T* in order to solve this question.

IV. No work has yet been carried out on the columned street which ran in Roman times along the south side of the hill from the West gate to the site of the modern village, and it is proposed to make soundings here in at least two places, one near the west gate, and the other south of the *B-Z* area.

V. In the older plans a site for a theatre is shown on low ground to the north-west, but no remains are visible here, and air photographs suggest that another site on the north side of the hill about midway between the Basilica and the Augusteum is quite as likely to have been that of the theatre. It would seem worth while to make soundings at least in both these places; in the latter a sounding may reveal the north-east corner of the palace enclosure.

VI. The plan of the forum is still uncertain towards the east end, and it is desirable also to follow farther the fine Roman conduit found last autumn. This should be combined with the completion of the clearance of the Basilica, of which our predecessors uncovered about two-thirds. It may be difficult, however, to carry out these works except in an autumn campaign as we can dig on the forum site only after threshing is over.

VII. There are traces of tombs on every side of the hill, and more of these should be examined as occasion permits.

Originally it was hoped that in three seasons we should be able to clear up most of the major problems left by the earlier expedition. These hopes have been partially fulfilled, but the area of the city is so large that it is obvious that several more seasons could be profitably devoted to work here. It is submitted that whereas there are now four major expeditions at work in Palestine on sites of the middle and Late Bronze ages (Beisan, Balata, Megiddo, and Tell Ajjul), Samaria is the greatest site where much work is profitable on the later periods including especially the age of the monarchy. The finds already made in Samaria by the two expeditions, namely the ostraca found by the first expedition and the ivories found this season, have been so remarkable, that the justification for further work beyond the original period of three seasons seems obvious, and it is to be hoped that there will be no difficulty in obtaining the means to insure this.

May 31st, 1932.

EXCAVATIONS AT BETH-SHAN IN 1931.

By G. M. FitzGerald, M.A., *Field Director.*

The ninth season of excavation at Beth-shan (the modern Beisan) on behalf of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, was carried on during the last four months of 1931.[1] Two quite distinct areas of the principal mound, Tell el-Hosn, were excavated, viz., at the north-west of the summit, part of the Early Iron Age buildings of Level V,[2] including the remains of a Gate Tower, below which an important structure was brought to light on Level VI (*temp.* Seti I, c. 1300 B.C.), and, secondly, an area further to the south-east lying partly below the Temple of the god Mekal—the southern Temple of the time of Thothmes III (1501-1447 B.C.) which had been cleared by Mr. Rowe.[3]

During the earlier part of the season further excavations in the cemetery on the north side of the river Jalûd were carried on concurrently with the work on the Tell.

I. Levels V and VI on Tell el-Hosn.

At the close of the 1930 season our excavations had come upon fragments of a limestone lintel bearing the cartouches of Rameses III (1204-1172 B.C.) lying at the eastern edge of the Tell below the stone foundations of a room belonging to Level V. This find proves that some, at any rate, of the buildings of this level cannot be earlier than the twelfth century B.C., but leaves the precise dating of Level V as a whole a very open question.[4] A search for further fragments of this lintel was made in 1931, but none were found. Work meanwhile was being carried on in a series of rooms lying westward of those excavated in the previous season. Their walls were of the same mud-brick, but differed in one respect from those of the rooms at the east; instead of being built up on foundation courses of large stones and of partly baked bricks, they scarcely went down below the floor-level of the rooms, and in some instances actually rested on the plaster flooring. Immediately to the south another small series of rooms afforded a complete contrast, having very massive foundations going down to an exceptionally low level, and consisting partly of half-baked bricks and partly of black mud containing decayed vegetable matter, with courses of big stones beneath. These deep foundations are accounted for by the presence of a large refuse-pit which we found in the level below these rooms, whereas the walls without stone foundations were directly above a very substantial building on Level VI, which is described hereafter. Towards the northern edge of the summit, again, we found very large boulders used as foundations, and one cannot help feeling astonished at the thought of the labour involved in bringing them up to this level. It is no doubt possible that they had been frequently re-used and even that they had originally formed part of a defensive wall or glacis. In passing it may be observed as a remarkable fact that no fortification wall has yet been found on the Tell below the Byzantine level.

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[1] For an account of the preceding season, 1930, see *Q.S.*, April, 1931, pp. 59 *sqq.*

[2] The levels are numbered successively from the topmost (Arab) level downwards.

[3] A. Rowe, *Q.S.*, 1928, pp. 73 *sqq.*; 1929, pp. 78 *sqq.*

[4] This discovery was made too late to be used by Professor A. T. Olmstead, in whose *History of Palestine and Syria* (1931), pp. 222 *sqq.*, the buildings of Level V are still attributed to Rameses II.

Continuing to work westward, we came to some buildings which had been partly excavated in previous seasons.[5] These stood at the north-western corner of the summit, at the point which afforded the easiest access from the western slope of the Tell. It had long been apparent that the remains of a gateway, flanked on its northern side by a tower, were to be found at this corner of the summit, but there still remained a quantity of debris to be removed before the foundations of the tower could be cleared. On the south side of the gateway the walls of Level V had been destroyed by buildings of the Roman and later periods, and it must remain doubtful whether so substantial a structure as a southern gate-tower corresponding to the one at the north could have disappeared so completely. At the western end of the gateway all traces of Level V had been swept away in the course of rebuilding on the western slope, which is still covered by remains of Byzantine and Arab walls.[6]

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[5] A. Rowe, *Museum Journal* (Philadelphia), March, 1929, pp. 71 *sqq.* (with a plan showing a conjectural restoration of a complete gateway with two flanking towers).

The most noticeable characteristic of the gateway was the construction of its walls, which were of limestone masonry, whereas all the other buildings of Level V are of mud-brick.[7] The stone wall at the south of the gate tower could be followed for about nine metres along the northern side of the entrance, which was apparently not a chariot-way, since it terminated towards the east in a flight of three steps leading down to the floor-level of the buildings on the summit. These steps were built up against a limestone wall, the eastern face of which, when cleared down to its foundations after the removal of the steps, is shewn in Fig. 1. On its northern and western sides the gate-tower had been cut into by later buildings (as shown in Fig. 2) with the result that nothing remained but a mass of half-burnt clay foundation, upon which two small brick towers had originally stood and along the eastern side of which ran a narrow chamber or corridor about twelve metres long with walls of mud-brick resting on one course of masonry. The whole edifice was built on a sort of platform of comparatively small rough stones.

The character of the limestone masonry is of considerable interest, from its resemblance to that of the Israelite walls at Samaria, some of which are illustrated in the last two numbers of the *Q.S.*[8] The drafting of the stones along only two or three edges of the face, is a feature common to both sites; it would appear that at Megiddo also irregular drafting of much the same character is to be found in the stables attributed to the reign of Solomon, in the tenth century B.C.[9] This method may, obviously, have been in use for a long period, and does not afford any precise evidence whereby to date our gateway. It is to be observed, however, that in close proximity to the limestone wall, and slightly below the level of the bottom step, we found several brownish-red potsherds decorated with concentric circles in black, of a well-known Cypriote ware which has been found elsewhere on Level V. It is not necessary to adopt the view that this ware belongs to so late a date as the eighth century B.C., and it may even be possible to assign its appearance to the threshold of the Iron Age,[10] but the presence of these fragments disposes one to believe that this gateway cannot be earlier than the eleventh century, and may have been in use after Beth-shan had fallen into the hands of the Israelites, and when it formed part of Solomon's dominions. Against this we must set the existence on the same level of two temples adorned with stelæ of Seti I and Rameses II and a statue of Rameses III, and containing other objects suggestive of the Egyptian occupation.[11] The rest of the pottery found on Level V in 1931 did not differ materially from that which had appeared in previous seasons[12]; fragments with a red burnished surface were common, while painted decoration was very sparingly employed. Very few objects of interest came from this level; amongst them were a Hittite seal with an obscure design, a stone cylinder seal representing a man and a horned animal with a tree between them, a faience amulet of Isis with the infant Horus, and four scarabs. An intrusive find was a carnelian gem engraved with a figure of Athene Parthenos holding a statuette of Victory in her outstretched hand; this small object must have slipped through the interstices of the stone wall of the gateway, and probably came from the Roman level above.

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[6] See *Beth-shan Excavations,* 1921-1923 (Philadelphia, 1931), Plate VI. Our gateway lay almost directly below the line of the Byzantine Street, a little to the north of the Arab approach to the Summit of the Tell.

[7] A few blocks of limestone have been found built into walls of this level at some distance from the gateway.

[8] Jan., 1932, Plate II; April, 1932, Plate III.

[9] P. L. O. Guy, *Oriental Inst. Communications,* No. 9 (Chicago, 1931), Fig. 31.

Immediately outside the gate-tower a small clearance was made among the Arab and Byzantine houses on the western slope of the Tell. A further short stretch of the paved street which led up to the summit in the Byzantine period was uncovered, running on the line which had been conjecturally indicated in the plan accompanying the publication of the Arab and Byzantine levels excavated in 1921-1923. Built into one of the late walls we found a somewhat battered fragment of a Janus-headed Herm and near it a stone base, which may have formed part of it, re-used as a door-sill.

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[10] Père Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, April, 1932, pp. 277 *sqq.*, and Plate VIII, Nos. 7-9.

[11] Rowe and Vincent, *Q.S.*, Jan., 1931, pp. 17 *sqq.* When their article was written the available evidence seemed to indicate that these temples were erected under Rameses II.

[12] See "*The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-shan, Part II, The Pottery*" (1930), pp. 11 *sqq.*, where Level V is termed "Rameses II level."

We have already remarked upon the fact that some of the rooms of Level V, east of the gateway, were destitute of the usual stone wall-foundations. This peculiarity promised to simplify excavation, and tempted us to investigate further, in case there should prove to have been a rebuilding of Level V at this point. As it turned out, we soon came upon a building on Level VI, for the complete clearance of which we were obliged to destroy the gate-tower and to remove massive stone foundations on each side of our selected area.

Level VI has hitherto been described as the Seti I Level, in accordance with the evidence whereby the temple which stood upon it could be attributed with practical certainty to the reign of that Pharaoh (1313-1292 B.C.).[13] Nothing has been observed in the course of the 1931 season to invalidate this dating; but it must be admitted that a series of fragmentary walls built over some of the Seti I rooms on what has been called the "Late Seti Level" ought to be assigned to a somewhat later period. Amongst them we found a flat seal bearing the name of Rameses II, Seti's successor, who reigned till 1225, and moreover a fragment of some iron implement was actually embedded in one of the walls, which may therefore in all probability have been built very shortly before the time of Rameses III. The walls themselves were insignificant, being of mud-brick with small stone foundations resting almost immediately on the floor-level of the Seti I buildings.

The main building found on Level VI is shown in Fig. 3; and its western end, with some of the adjoining rooms (which lay below the gate-tower) in Fig. 4. Its massive mud-brick walls, resting on stone foundations, had been much ruined, but were everywhere traceable, and the building-plan was made all the clearer by the preservation of the limestone door-sills, of which no less than seven were discovered *in situ*.

The building consisted of a main central hall, nearly square (c. 8·8 × 8·2 metres interior measurements), with its slightly longer axis from west to east, having a forecourt at the west and smaller rooms on the other three sides.

In the forecourt there had been some rebuilding of the western walls but, even so, a gap in the stone foundations indicated the line of approach from the lower slope of the Tell. Opposite this gap was the main doorway leading into the central hall, with its sill in position and part of a stone door-post still standing. Two entrances with door-sills gave access to the forecourt, from north and south. The southern entrance had been blocked up at a later period, and its original plan is somewhat obscure, but it certainly connected the forecourt with a room on the south side of the central hall.

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[13] *Museum Journal* (Philadelphia), March, 1927, p. 25. Cartouches of Rameses I were found amongst the temple foundation deposits.

In the hall were two large stone bases, about 1·50 metres diameter, standing side by side at an interval (from north to south) of about 1·60 metres; they were almost equidistant from the east and west walls of the hall, and the space between them lay just opposite the main entrance from the forecourt, so they were clearly *in situ*, and had doubtless served as bases for columns (which were perhaps of wood) supporting the roof. On the left of the main entrance a breach had been made by a cistern which had been dug down from a higher level, and had destroyed the walls at the north-western corner of the hall. On the other side an oblong limestone slab was found lying close up against the west wall; it had been slightly hollowed so as to leave a narrow edge all round, and had three further depressions, or cup-marks, towards its southern end. (This slab resembled one which lay on the altar base of the Temple of Seti I,[14] and a third has been observed lying some distance to the east of our building.) The southern end of the slab partly obstructed an entrance with a door-sill, near the south-west corner of the hall, leading in from a narrow corridor—or possibly a series of small chambers—which ran along the south side of the building and at the far end of which was yet another door-sill, indicating a way through to a room on the east side of the building.

At the eastern end of the hall we uncovered a straight line of wide stone foundations running north and south, but the wall standing on them was somewhat narrower and not precisely on the same alignment, showing that there must have been either some rebuilding or a modification of the original plan. The space between this wall and the exterior east wall of the building was only about two metres wide, and was divided into two areas by a double cross-wall, which would seem to be a later addition, as it was built up against the plastered face of the west wall. The northern part of the narrow area on the east side of the building contained two doorways, about two metres apart, with sills and posts remaining. Between them there seems to have been an opening in the west wall, leading into the central hall, but no door-sill was found in it. At the south of the southern door-sill a large four-handled pot was found buried in the ground ; the northern doorway led into a small room at the north-west corner of the building in the middle of which lay a small basalt column-base, which may or may not have been in its original position. The outer wall of the building on the east side stood on stone foundations which rose slightly above the level of the two last-mentioned door-sills, a fact which may have been concealed by a coating of plaster ; the wall itself, of mud-brick, was not solid all through, but had compartments in its thickness which, when excavated, were full of debris. On the other side of a narrow passage running north and south were the foundations of another wall, forming part of a building which had been so completely ruined that it was impossible to recover its plan.

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[14] *Museum Journal* (Philadelphia), December, 1925, p. 312.

On the north side of the central hall were two small rooms, of which the more westerly had been partly destroyed by the late cistern. The foundations of the outer wall on this side were piled up to an exceptional height, and seemed to belong to a rebuilding and raising of the northern wall ; they were lower opposite the doorway leading into the western forecourt, but rose again further west to carry the wall on along the north side of a complex of rooms which we excavated at the western edge of the summit. This area (which lay directly below the destroyed gate-tower of Level V) seemed to contain only scanty remains of buildings properly belonging to the period of Seti I, and excavations consequently went down amongst rooms which we should probably assign to Level VII ; in one of them was found a collection of pottery, including wish-bone-handled bowls of Cypriote types. Further west again we came to cuttings and well-shafts which were clearly of later date ; they contained fragments of Byzantine pottery and rooms of that period had been built immediately above them. The foundations of a stone retaining wall—Hellenistic or Roman—had broken through the walls of Level VI at the south-west of the main Seti I building, and our excavations were carried no further in that direction.

The most important find on this level was part of a door-jamb, with a hieroglyphic inscription, which was lying in fragments at the western entrance of the central hall. The inscription, shown in Fig. 5, contains a mention of the city of Heliopolis, and is probably part of an invocation to the Sun. Amongst the ruined walls at the eastern end of the excavations we found fragments of a fluted Egyptian cornice upon which traces of red and blue pigment were still visible. On the whole, Level VI was rather poor in small objects ; the most interesting of these was a glass plaque, unfortunately broken, which was found in the foundations of the Seti I building near its south-western corner. The plaque, originally about 47 millimetres square and 10 millimetres thick, is decorated in relief with figures in the Babylonian style ; in the centre a bearded deity, wearing a horned head-dress, stands facing outwards, a worshipper is approaching on his left and between them a kid or gazelle is standing on its hind legs ; there was probably a similar worshipper on the other side, now broken off. The plaque is pierced by two holes running from side to side.

II. Levels X A and X B on the Tell.

While our excavations were proceeding at the north-west of the summit on Levels V and VI, a large proportion of our workmen had been set to dig on a lower level towards the south-east. In this area, which comprised the sites of the successive temples excavated in previous seasons, the walls of Level IX, dating from the time of Thothmes III, and including the Temple of Mekal, were still standing. These buildings we in part destroyed in order to begin the excavation of the underlying level. Directly below the Thothmes Temple we found a layer of debris about a metre deep, containing a considerable number of small objects of interest and quantities of pottery. Below this filling were the wall-tops of a lower level which we cleared, only to find that it consisted of a number of small rooms, very much ruined, with another complex of buildings immediately below them, of much the same character. For convenience the designation " Level X A " was adopted for the upper series of rooms, and " Level X B " for the lower ; but it must not be assumed that a hard and fast line can be drawn between them, as it would seem that there had been a continuous occupation involving alterations and rebuildings at irregular intervals extending over a period of several centuries. For the most part the rooms were small, with thin mud-brick walls on a foundation of one or two courses of stone, and it must be supposed that the houses were very low, as otherwise there would certainly have been a greater thickness of brick debris between successive building-levels. Fig. 6, which represents part of Level X B, conveys an adequate idea of the appearance of the rooms below the Thothmes Level. Below Level X A we found a jar containing the bones of an infant, which had evidently been buried under the floor of a house.

In spite of the fact that our excavations only reached a depth of two or three metres in the south-eastern area, a very distinct change in the character of the pottery was observable as we dug down. In the filling immediately below the level of the Mekal Temple fragments of painted vessels were exceedingly common, including a number of bowls on high trumpet-shaped pedestals and large pots with red and black decoration on the shoulder ; with them were a few fragments of Cypriote milk-bowls. All these are characteristic also of the Eighteenth Dynasty levels, Thothmes and Amenophis III, and probably belong to the later period of occupation of Level X A, after about 1550 B.C. Amongst them we found a small admixture of earlier—Middle Bronze Age—types, which became more frequent as we went down, till in Level X B they predominated to the exclusion of the Late Bronze Age wares. Some of the buildings of Level X A, if not all, may therefore belong to the Hyksos period, and it is possible that the foundations of Level X B go back to the earliest century of the Middle Bronze Age, about 1900 B.C. if we may judge from the presence of a few flat-bottomed ledge handled jars, and of some specimens of a highly burnished ware, red on the interior and black on the exterior of the vessels, which seem to resemble certain finds from Khirbet Kerak (at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee), dating from the beginning of the second millennium if not earlier.[15]

The Middle Bronze Age pottery included jars, jugs with handles on the shoulder, juglets and deep bowls of more or less carinated shape ; many of the last-named stood on three loop feet. Several fragments of footed bowls were covered with a white slip highly polished. All the lamps below the Thothmes level were of an early type, none having a pronounced spout. At a low level were fragments of hole-mouthed pots, with spout and handle, also of black cooking-pots with rope-pattern decoration of notched bands.

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[15] Albright, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI, at p. 28.

Among small objects scarabs were conspicuous in Level X A, but were scarcely to be found at the lower level, in which, however, there were a number of Syro-Hittite cylinder seals. The scarabs found in the course of the season's excavations are shown in Fig. 7, most of them being from the filling below the Thothmes III level, including one which forms the bezel of a bronze ring. Bronze objects included a socketed spear-head and several tanged broad-bladed daggers ; a small bronze figurine was found adhering to the blade of an adze. Alabaster was a common material, in the forms of knobs or mace-heads and of small pots, many of which had a hole in the bottom and would seem to have been spoilt in the process of manufacture. A small egg-shaped pot of blue faïence decorated with a leaf pattern in black was found in Level X A, and is illustrated in Fig. 8.

III. The Cemetery.

Concurrently with the excavations on the Tell work was carried on during the earlier part of the season in the Cemetery on the opposite (north) bank of the river Jalûd. This was a continuation, in an easterly direction, of the work of the preceding season (described in the *Q.S.*, April, 1931), it would therefore be superfluous to describe the general character of this excavation. As before the tombs cleared were mainly of the "loculus" type, dating from the Roman period, but we did find one circular tomb of the Early Bronze Age in good preservation, containing a globular ledge-handled jar and a bronze dagger of the ribbed "Cypriote" type, quite unlike the later forms found on the Tell. In several instances early tombs had been destroyed by later ones and existed only as pits in the floors of Roman tombs with loculi. One of these is seen in Fig. 9, a photograph which also presents a good example of the manner in which tombs had been dug one above the other, with the result that the floor of the upper one had collapsed into the lower.

Most of these loculus tombs had been thoroughly pillaged by tomb-robbers, but from two of them we obtained fine collections of glass together with numerous gold earrings and lamps, and ivory pins, of which several had carved heads, one representing a helmeted warrior, another in the form of a hand. The glass vases from a single loculus of one of these tombs are shewn in Fig. 10; from the evidence of coins they can be dated to the fourth century, and it may be noted that some of the lamps in the same tomb are decorated with the cross.

One of our workmen having reported the accidental find of a mosaic pavement at some distance to the east of the Cemetery, we made a small clearance which resulted in the discovery of a broken inscription (Fig. 11) recording the foundation of a monastery. The ends of the lines being lost its meaning is obscure, but the year 585 is mentioned, which gives us the approximate date, though we cannot be certain whether the era employed should be reckoned from about 64 B.C., or from 47 B.C.

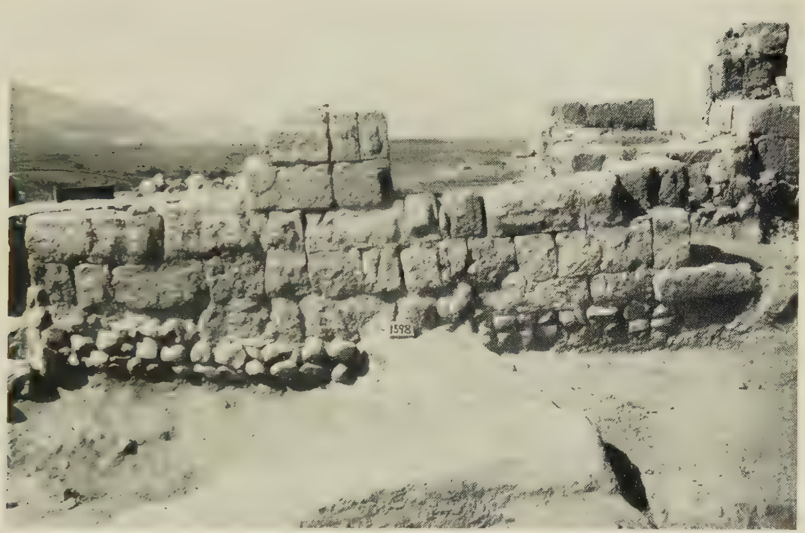


FIG. 1.—BETH-SHAN: THE TELL, LEVEL V; LIMESTONE WALL WITH "ISRAELITE" TYPE OF MASONRY.

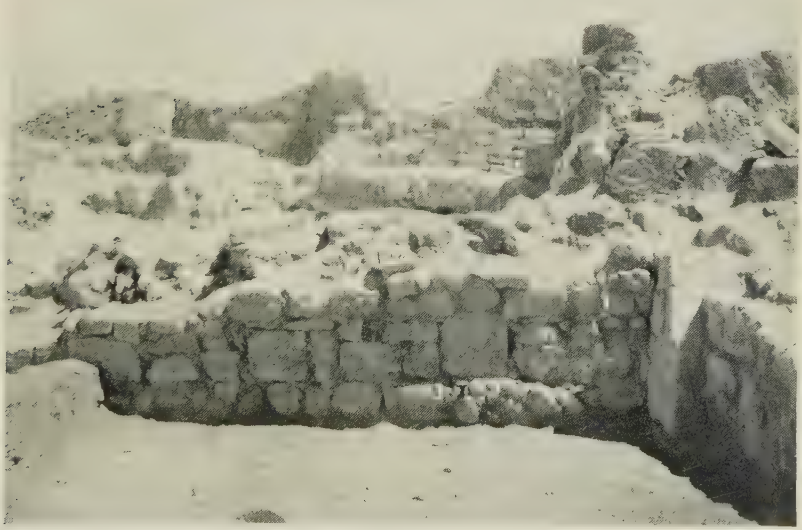


FIG. 2.—LEVEL V: RUINS OF GATE-TOWER, WITH BYZANTINE (?) WALL IN FOREGROUND. FROM THE WEST.

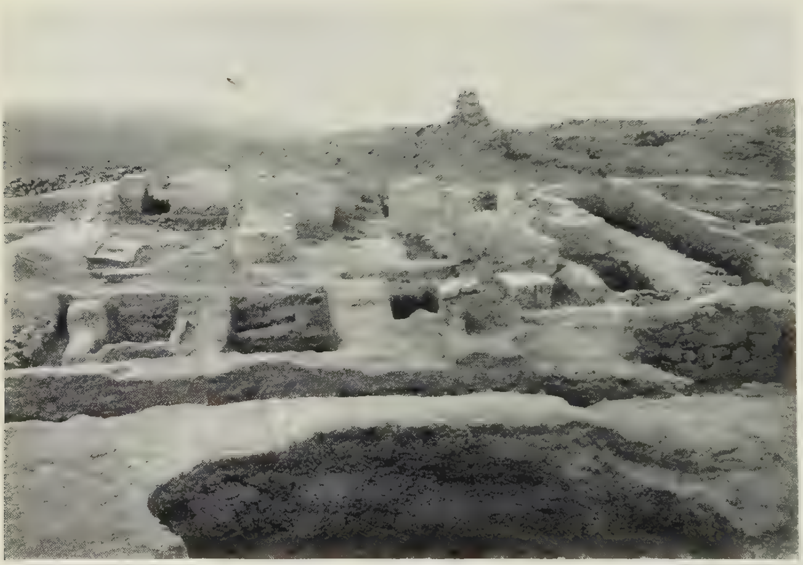


Fig. 3.—Level VI: Building at North-West of Summit. From the South.

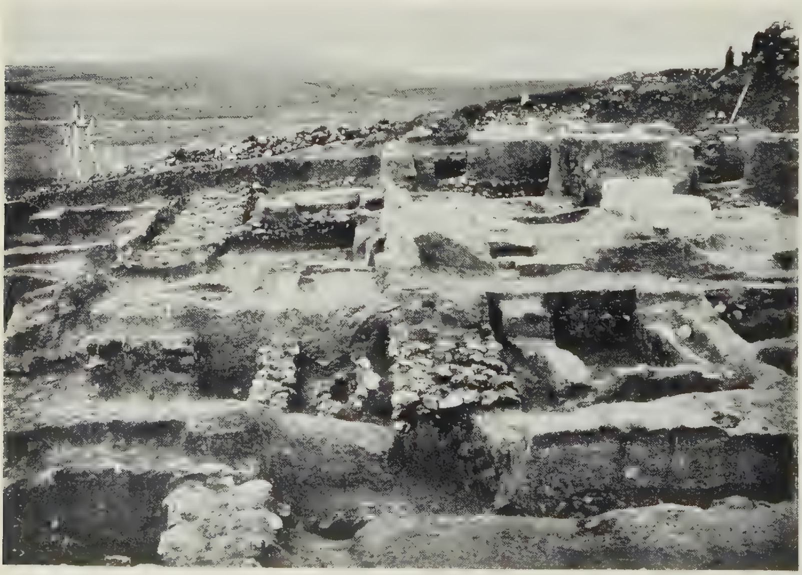


Fig. 4.—Western end of the same Building.

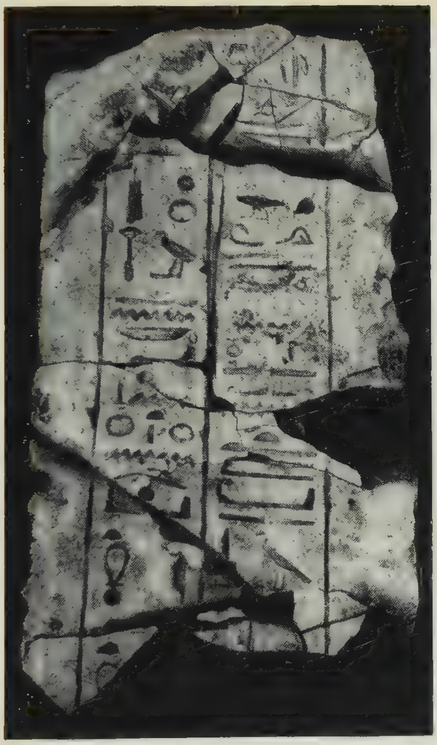


Fig. 5.—Level V: Door-jamb with Hieroglyphics.

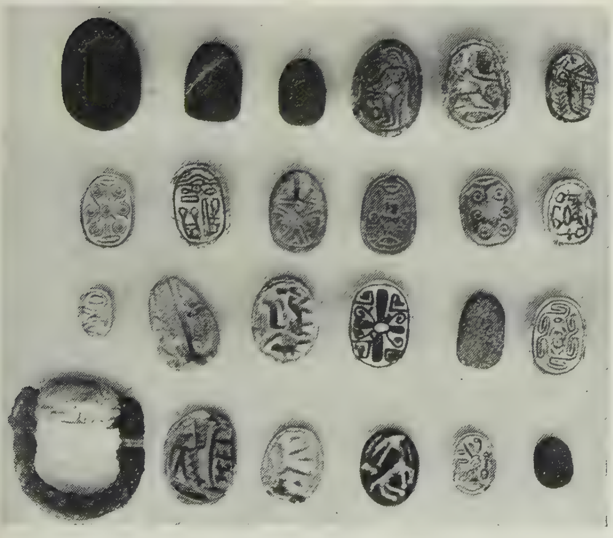


Fig. 7.—Scarabs from various Levels, found in 1931.

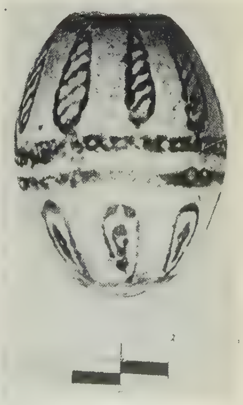


Fig. 8.—Egg-shaped Faience Pot, Level Xa.

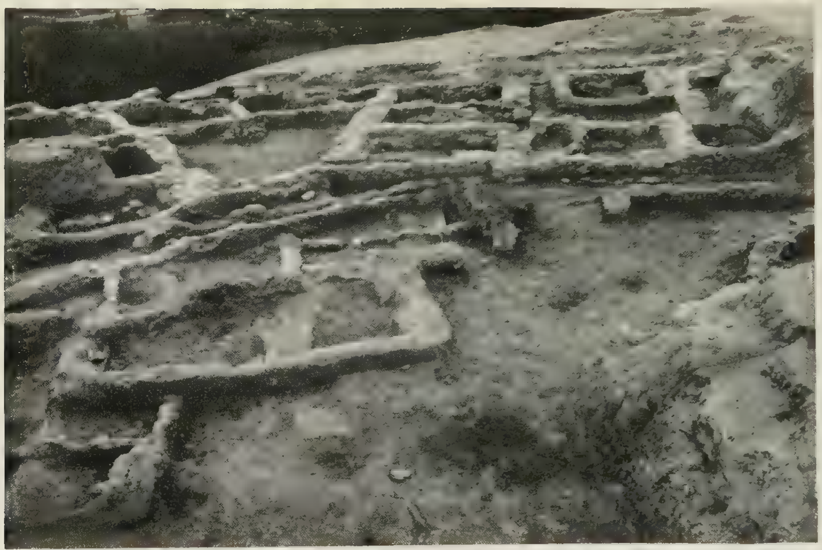


Fig. 6.—Level Xb. Rooms of the Middle Bronze Age. From the North.

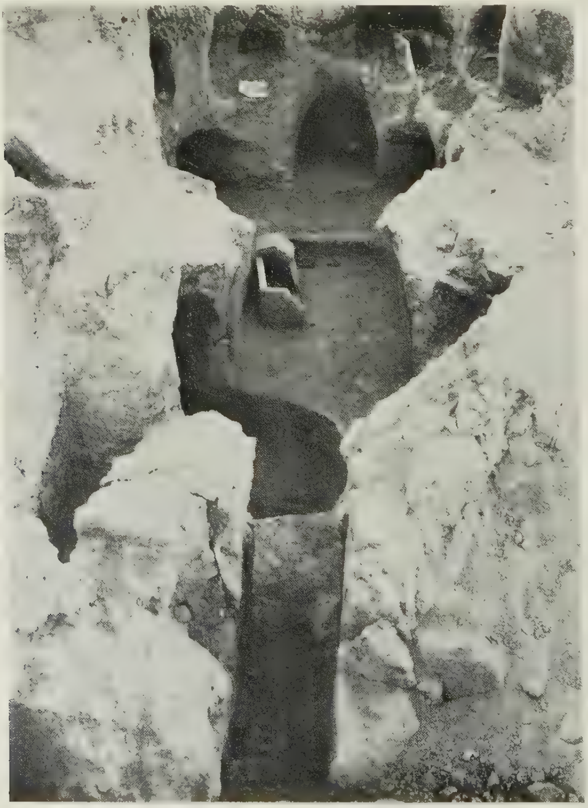


Fig. 9.—Beth-Shan Cemetery. Roman Tombs with Loculi, and remains of Early Bronze Age Tomb.

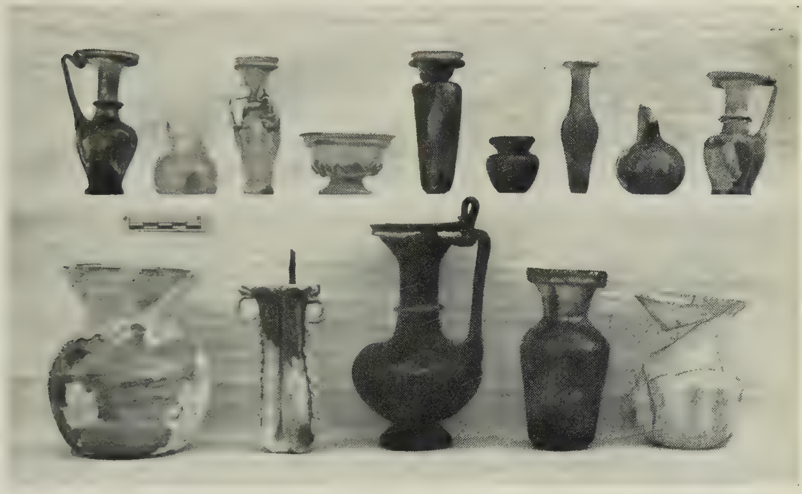
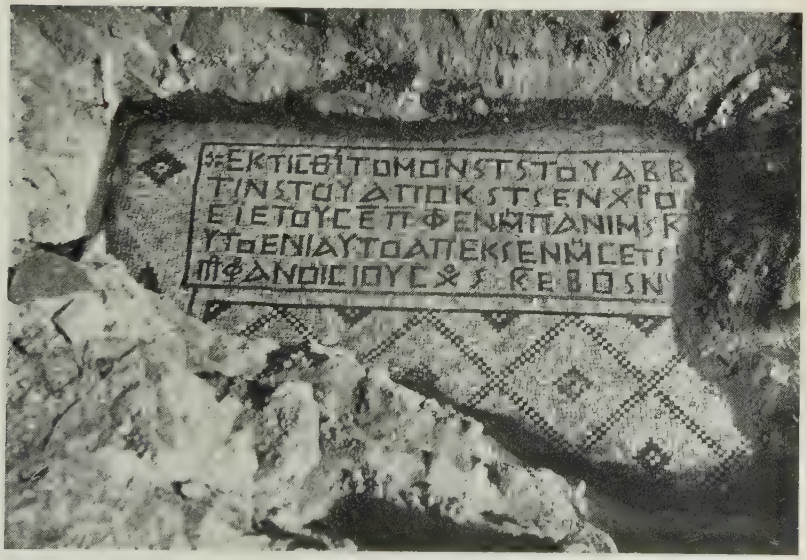


Fig. 10.—Glass Vases from Loculus in Fourth-Century Tomb.


ΕΚΤΙCΘΙΤΟΜΟΝϚΤϚΤΟΥ ΑΒΒ
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ΕΙΕΤΟΥCΕΠΦΕΝΜΠΑΝΙΜϚΚ
ΥΤΟΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΑΠΕΚϚΕΝΜCΕΤϚ
ΠΦΑΝΟΙCΙΟΥC ϚΚΕΘΟϚΝ

Fig. 11.—Broken Inscription in Mosaic Floor, among Ruins to East of Cemetery.

A THIRD SEASON AT JERICHO.*

CITY AND NECROPOLIS.

By Professor John Garstang, D.Sc., etc.

Three years ago, when Sir Charles Marston first enabled me to re-examine the site of Jericho, several problems of peculiar importance to students of Bible history were still awaiting solution. The earlier excavations, while throwing new light upon the archæology of the ancient city, indeed upon the culture of Canaan as a whole, had left the dating of several lines of defensive walls and ramparts in considerable doubt and a subject for technical discussion. One expert frankly stated his opinion that during the late Bronze Age (*c.* 1600-1200 B.C.), the period which under any theory should cover the entry of the Israelites into Canaan, the city of Jericho already lay in ruins.

Our first season's work found the solution of this initial difficulty. A stout wall of brick that lay along the western brink of the mound was seen in various unexcavated places to be overlaid by the remains of a second wall, following the same line. With this was associated a thinner screen wall of the same material. The stratification and details of evidence were examined and enabled us at the time to state a definite and agreed conclusion.

The main defences of Jericho in the late Bronze Age (*c.* 1600-1200 B.C.), followed the upper brink of the city mound, and comprised two parallel walls, the outer 6ft. and the inner 12ft. thick. Investigations along the west side show continuous signs of destruction and conflagration. The outer wall suffered most, its remains falling down the slope. The inner wall is preserved only where it abuts upon the citadel or tower to a height of 18ft. ; elsewhere it is found largely to have fallen, together with the remains of buildings upon it, into the space between the walls which was filled with ruins and débris. Traces of intense fire are plain to see, including reddened

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*Reprinted by kind permission from *The Times*, May 12th, 1932.

masses of brick, cracked stones, charred timbers, and ashes. Houses alongside the wall are found burned to the ground, their roofs fallen upon the domestic pottery within.

There remained the question of the date when the walls and city were destroyed. In my own opinion, based upon a detailed examination of the stratifications related to the outer wall, this had probably taken place about 1400 B.C., the culture being that of the late Bronze Age before the infiltration of Mykenaean wares. Our second season was devoted largely to this problem, and led us to examine another unexcavated area overlooking the spring on the eastern side. There, also, came to light further traces of conflagration and destruction; and several burned-out store-rooms of an extensive building yielded a welcome series of pottery types, the date of which would help materially to decide the matter. But at this stage, again, technical questions arose. Criteria for the precise dating of the pottery types were wanting, and to this end we determined to search for the necropolis in the hope of finding dated groups. In this quest we have not been disappointed.

The third season's work has been rewarded by results of unusual interest and value. Foremost may be placed the archæological materials recovered from the Bronze Age tombs. These were located in unbroken ground some 400 yards westward from the city mound, and they proved to be practically intact. In all 25 have been opened and cleared. They yielded 1,800 registered objects, mostly pottery vases, of which some 1,500 were in good condition and several hundreds without a flaw. Many of the specimens are new to the *corpus* of Palestinian types, while quite a number can claim a measure of artistic merit which throws new light upon the standard of Canaanitish culture.

The deposits cover the whole range of the Bronze Age down to 1400 B.C., the later groups being dated by royal Egyptian scarabs; they represent the various phases in the life of the city already recognized in our earlier explorations. The deep levels of the early Bronze Age in the mound are still largely beyond our reach, but here and there trenches or denuded spots have enabled us to trace the line of a protecting wall of this period, apparently the earliest of the site.

In the early part of the Middle Bronze Age, estimated elsewhere from Egyptian analogies to fall about 2000 B.C., the site was enclosed by a stout wall of large unbaked bricks which followed the brink of the mound, and enclosed an area of about seven acres. A strong tower, 60ft. in length, protected the gateway and the approaches to the spring on the eastern side. It contained three deep chambers in which we found helpful stratified deposits. A room at the foot of the tower gave us a finely carved bull's head in darkened ivory (4·75 cms. in height) in which again may be detected a Babylonian feeling.

The known pottery types of this period, hitherto limited though distinctive, have been greatly augmented by the recovery of nearly 800 specimens from the first tomb discovered in the necropolis. The pottery is distinguished by its variety of form, ranging from pointed juglets to standing vases with small side handles.

The Hyksos Period.

In the second part of the Middle Bronze Age, which covers the Hyksos period in Egypt (c. 1800-1600 B.C.) the city underwent a notable expansion. Already, in the preceding phase, houses had been creeping outside the walls down the slopes of the mound, which was now surrounded by a massive rampart. This comprised a glacis of great rough-hewn stones, an upper defensive parapet of brick, and an outer fosse ; and the area enclosed was about 10 acres in extent. Local prosperity now attained its zenith, a fact clearly seen in the furniture of the newly excavated tombs. Pottery became more elegant in form, and more varied in design. Plastic art, of which examples are rare in the Bronze Age, is represented by a unique rhyton. This is a pedestal vase of local ware and form, modelled externally to represent the head of a bearded man and almost life size. So far as I am aware no similar specimens are extant. The Phaistos rhyton, which belongs to the same age, differs in that the hairs are indicated by points of paint, while in this case they are represented by pinholes.

The transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age culture is not well defined in the ceramic series, nor is it marked by any sudden change. It is true that the defences of the city, after the partial destruction of its outer ramparts, retreated to the old lines upon the brink of the mound, while in the necropolis the grotto tombs gave way to simple graves from one to two yards deep. Otherwise the local arts were continuous, though bearing witness to a certain deterioration ; and we may assume that whatever punishment was inflicted on the city by the Pharaohs at the close of the Hyksos régime, the local population returned in part to the old site and resumed their former customs. Burial was still carried out by inhumation, for the most part in family or common graves, some of which were found filled with offerings and the débris of human remains to within a few inches of the surface. One tomb dated in its fourth layer to the joint reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III containing more than 500 vases and the traces of more than 50 burials. The lowest levels show no traces of Egyptian influence, which thus makes itself felt in Jericho for the first time about 1500 B.C. It was apparently only at this time that the Pharaohs' rule became effective in the lower valley of the Jordan.

Thereafter the XVth century B.C. is well represented ; the " bil-bil " wares of Cyprus and their imitations made their appearance, as in Egypt, at this time ; but there is a conspicuous absence of Mykenaean products and the distinctive art of the Tell-el-Amarna period. The series of scarabs, of which 94 were recovered from the various layers of these tombs, ends with the reign of Amenhetep III. They have been examined independently by Professor Newberry, who kindly travelled from Cairo for the purpose, and in his expert opinion they range through the Hyksos period into the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty ; but comprise no specimens of the period from Akhenaton (Amenhetep IV) to Ramses II, inclusive of both those reigns. The evidence from the tombs thus all points to an interruption in the life of Jericho in the age of Amenhetep III. The Bronze Age city of Jericho perished at some date after 1411 and before 1375 B.C.

The Iron Age.

The next definite trace of occupation brings us to the Iron Age, about 1200 B.C., and in this respect the evidence from the city and the necropolis is also in agreement. Overlying and by the side of the palace area of the Bronze Age lies a well-marked stratum of the early Iron Age ; its special features are a cobble-paved street ascending in steps to the top of the mound, and the foundations of a considerable building with stout walls of stone. Most instructive was a scarab showing a northern deity, a type of Hadad, standing upon the back of an animal, like the consort of the Mother-Goddess at *Hierapolis Syriae.* It appears probable from these indications that one of the Pharaohs, presumably Ramses III, established on the mound over the spring an outpost of northern mercenaries (Sherdens, or Philistines, or maybe Hittites), whose burial practices differed so radically from those of the old population ; and if the scarab bearing the name of Thutmose III found in the same pit prove to belong to that king's reign (of which there may be a doubt) it would appear that such a garrison had been installed when the city was first annexed.

The outer fortifications of the city, however, remained in ruins throughout this period ; and so far as our investigations have proceeded they were not restored until the second phase of the Iron Age, about 900 B.C., after which there is abundant trace of renewed activity and occupation, lasting, though fitfully, to the Byzantine epoch.

The work this season, as in the past, was done entirely by voluntary helpers, the repairing and general supervision in the camp and storerooms by my wife, photography and surveys by Mr. Harold Falconer, superintendence in the city work by Dr. Aage Schmidt, paintings by Mr. H. B. Gray, drawings by Boulos Eff. Araj and Miss Mabel Ratcliffe, registration and records by Mlle. J. Krausse, and the cataloguing by my daughter Meroë. Sir Charles Marston, the constant patron of these researches, was generously seconded on this occasion by Mr. Davies Bryan, in the interests of the University Museum, Aberystwyth. Other collaborating institutions were the Musées du Louvre, the University of Liverpool, which I represent, and the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. The series of antiquities accruing to the expedition will be deposited in these several institutions, the first selection remaining in the Palestine Museum, Jerusalem.

Full illustrated reports on these excavations are appearing in the current numbers of the Liverpool University *Annals of Archæology.*

THE RĀS ESH-SHAMRA TABLETS.

By J. P. Naish, D.D.

The story of the finds at Rās Shamra has already been published fairly widely. It is not attempted here to do more than summarize the history of the excavation up to the present date, and mention some of the results and deductions which have emerged or been suggested. Rās esh-Shamra (Cape Fennel) is the southern horn of the bay of Minet el-Baida (White Haven) on the far north of the Syrian coast, above the famous port of Latakia, so well-known to students of the Crusades. Here a peasant, ploughing on the promontory in March, 1928, struck his share point against the edge of a stone slab. This, being turned up, proved to have covered a hollow with steps leading down to the door of a beehive-shaped tomb whose pointed top lay just below the surface of the soil.

The find was reported to the local French authorities, who in turn communicated with the distinguished Assyriologist, M. Ch. Virolleaud, director of antiquities at Beyrouth. M. Virolleaud sent M. Léon Albanèse to report on the site, and soon afterwards visited it himself, recovering a bowl and platter of Cypriote-Mycenean pattern and 13th-12th century ware, similar to those found at Enkomi (Salamis) in Cyprus. In the following year MM. Schaeffer and Chenet of Strasbourg University were commissioned to begin an official excavation where the finds had been made. They arrived in April, 1929, with a train of seven camels and a guard of 20 army details. It was impossible to use motor-cars, the roads and tracks being too primitive.

During this season (1929) several other tombs near the first were investigated, and a number of significant objects were unearthed, proving beyond all doubt the existence of an important city, with its adjoining necropolis, at Rās Shamra during the 13th and 12th centuries B.C., that is, of course, during the period between the time of the Tell Amarna tablets and that of those invasions of

Egypt by the "sea peoples" during the early XXth Dynasty, which are pictured for us on the Ramses III' reliefs at Medinet Habu.

The various finds at Rās Shamra illustrate very completely that syncretism of Aegean, Hittite, Egyptian and Babylonian art and culture patterns which is characteristic of the whole Syrian littoral throughout this period, and is emphasized in particular by the published discoveries of M. Montet at Byblus and of Mr. Alan Rowe at Beth Shan. Amongst these finds were beautiful "stirrup" and footed vases of painted faïence, an (apparently) imported Egyptian bronze sparrow-hawk bearing the double red and white crowns, a smaller one, gold-encrusted, with the *uraeus* between its feet, a sitting statuette of a god in the attitude of benediction with hands upraised, the eyes of white enamel and silver, and a figurine of the god Resheph (?) with Hittite cap, similar to the well-known Egyptian Resheph.[1] There is also an admirable gold plaque of 'Astarte with Hathor headdress, resembling those found at Jerusalem and Gezer, together with bulls' heads and feminine figurines as unearthed by Schliemann at Mycenae and Tiryns. In tomb III was a Mycenean painted *krater* and an alabaster Egyptian vase, also a fine Mycenean ivory of the mother-goddess as *πότνια θηρῶν* with ears of corn in her hands, and a rearing goat on either side.

But the most startling finds were those revealed when the excavators began work on the much larger mound to the east of the promontory and just south of the little stream Nahr-el-Fidd which there flows into the bay. This mound, covering the actual city, is one of the largest single Bronze Age sites yet disclosed. It is ten times the size of the well-known Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim) where Mr. Guy is now again at work, and its longest diameter exceeds half a mile. Objects of art and utensils were not lacking here, including a tripod and a number of inscribed pickaxes and hoes.

But the chief interest of every such excavation must centre on the recovery of written documents, and it is in this respect that Rās Shamra is likely to be of such special importance. Such documents have been singularly lacking both in Palestine and in Syria. We have a few—a very few—inscriptions on stone, such as the Moabite Meshaʿ stele and the lines preserved from iconoclasts in the interior of the Siloam tunnel under the Ophel. We have also certain scribblings like the Samarian ostraka, and an occasional cuneiform contract or political tablet like the two from Gezer or the much earlier solitary one from Tell el-Hesy. But none of these throw much light on the religious beliefs, myths, or legends of Syria and Palestine during the period of Hebrew occupation or that immediately preceding it.

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[1] *Cf.* S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, pp. 105, 121, 178, and Pls. XXIV, 2, 3, XXV, 2, XXVI, 1.

As a general deduction from the nature of culture objects and potsherds found in various mounds, compared with Biblical evidence regarding the continuous existence of "Amorite" and "Canaanite" heathenism, and of tree, bull, and snake worship throughout the pre-Exilic (IVth Semitic) period, it has been reasonably assumed, as by Baudissin in his *Eshmun und Adonis*, that a syncretism of various polytheist patterns and mystic cults was in fact the prevailing atmosphere of religious thought in the Levantine coastal area during the first half at least of the last millenium B.C., and in N. Syria throughout the whole time. But written contemporary witness regarding the nature of the actual deities worshipped, and the myths believed and cults practised in relation to these, has been curiously to seek. Papyrus records, naturally, which must once have existed, have long ago vanished in that climate of heavy seasonal rainfall. It is only in exceptionally dry tracts like Egypt that such could ever have survived through many centuries. The baked clay tablet or the inscribed stone stele are less vulnerable. And in digging out the city concealed under the mound of Rās Shamra the excavators came across what was apparently the library of either the palace or an important temple. A number of cuneiform tablets have been brought to light, in a dangerously friable condition, it is true, but, most patiently and carefully handled, they have been preserved sufficiently intact to enable us to read a great deal of the writing inscribed on them.

In 1929 a quantity of these were thus lifted out, and deciphered by the experts. Some were in Babylonian, the official and legal *lingua franca* of the whole of the Near East at the time. Others proved to be in Sumerian, the learned Latin of the priests. And yet others were written, indeed, in the cuneiform character, but in an alphabet containing only some 26 or 27 different simple signs in place of the between three and four hundred complicated combinations used in the Babylonian and Sumerian syllabic systems. This alphabet was immediately recognised by M. Virolleaud as something hitherto unknown to modern scholars. In September, 1929, he read a paper on the subject to the Parisian Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and in April of the next year he published the texts themselves in *Syria*, of which magazine the well-known archaeologist, M. René Dussaud, is editor. At that time M. Virolleaud had suggested that the language embodied might turn out to be Cypriote or Mitannic. At the end of April, however, Prof. Hans Bauer of Halle wrote to M. Dussaud stating that he had succeeded in deciphering the script. A few days later he sent on the main results of his decipherment. Bauer had discovered that the new characters represent the Phœnician-Hebrew alphabet, letter for letter, and that the language is in fact Phœnician, but that the dialect differs from that of the Phœnician inscriptions previously discovered at Byblus, Tyre and Sidon, further to the south. M. Dussaud recognised instantly that the problem had been solved, in essence at least, by the German savant. " There is no longer any doubt," he wrote on the 29th of May, 1930, " that the alphabetic script of Rās Shamra was created in the 12th century B.C., following the plan of that which is called the Phœnician alphabet in the exact sense of the words."

On the 4th of June, 1930, Bauer published in the *Vossische Zeitung Unterhaltungsblatt* a paper on " The Decipherment of a new Cuneiform Character," which corresponds very nearly to that communicated to Dussaud. Comparing his own results with this preparatory study Père Dhorme in Jerusalem, who had been occupying himself with a number of the shorter texts, was able successfully to suggest corrections of some of the identifications proposed by Bauer. His paper was published in the *Rev. Bibl.* for September, 1930. Bauer, in turn, was able, through a private communication of these results, to add an appendix to his book, " The Decipherment of the Cuneiform Tablets of Rās Shamra." Later he published additional remarks in the *ZDMG*, 1930. Virolleaud meanwhile had made certain other adjustments. In September, 1931, Bauer read a paper at the

Triennial Orientalist Congress in Leyden, in which he explained the position then reached regarding these texts.

In his *ZDMG* article Prof. Bauer explains that the method of decipherment used was necessarily different from that successful in other well-known cases. The Rosetta Stone, for example, is bilingual, and one of the two languages was known, whilst the unknown factor was repeated in two different scripts. The Behistun and Persepolis inscriptions were trilingual, in different adaptations of a single type of character, the cuneiform. The first proved to be the real starting-point for the complete decipherment of hieroglyphic, Egyptian; the second ultimately the same for that of cuneiform, Babylonian. But the Phœnician tablets at Rās Shamra are unilingual. There is no parallel version in any other language known or unknown. Again, in the case of the Sinai-Serabit *graffiti* the signs could be compared with the simpler consonantal symbols of the by then well-known Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic. Similarly the older Phœnician character and that of the Palmyrene inscriptions could be read by comparison with the square Hebrew and its Samaritan equivalent already familiar to scholars. But in the case before us the characters, composed of a few wedges each, in several instances of only one or two, seldom bear even a remote resemblance to the pen and ink writing of the Aramaic papyri, or to the alphabet employed in inscriptions on Punic and Phœnician steles and bronzes.

Doubtless Prof. Bauer had in mind the methods employed by such pioneers as Grotefend, Hincks, Young, or Champollion. But the nature of his material was very different. He therefore began by assuming from the small number of characters in the script that he had to do with a true alphabet. He then collected repetitions of groups of three or four characters. One such group of three occurred several times, once or twice with a fourth added. It was guessed that this might be *b ʻ l*, (בעל), lord, and that the fourth letter might be *t*, forming the word *b ʻ l t*, lady. To the four letters thus isolated four more were added. On several of the bronze pick heads an identical combination of four characters occurred. This was tentatively assumed to be the Heb.-Phœnician word for pickaxe *g r z n*, (גרזן), which occurs three times in the Siloam tunnel inscription. Eight letters had now been guessed out of an alphabet of some 26-7, as it turned out, six of them successfully. Applying these throughout the texts in the manner of Sherlock Holmes in the story of the Dancing Men, it was soon seen that a good many of the blanks could be filled in, giving fresh letters ; and presently whole words and sentences in what was clearly a Phœnician dialect began to emerge. It afterwards appeared that two slight mistakes had been made, but these were soon corrected, as already mentioned (by a happy guess of Père Dhorme, based on his knowledge of Assyro-Babylonian), and thus the whole alphabet stood clear.[2]

Having indicated the method employed in deciphering the new script, it will be of interest to make some study, however slight, of the nature and significance of the texts themselves. It had been evident from the beginning that at Rās Shamra we have to do with a city and a civilisation contemporary with, and culturally allied to, those of Gebal and Beth Shan. The name of the city was assumed to have been Ṣapuna, since that word occurs, accompanied by the Egyptian determinative for "district," in the dedicatory hieroglyphic inscription on a relief which pictures a worshipper adoring the "Lord of Sapuna." Now we know that on the contemporary Merneptah stele the names of well known Canaanite cities, such as Askalon, Yenoʻam and Gezer, occur followed by this sign. At Beth Shan, too, also contemporary, the name of the city is followed on the hieroglyphic relief-inscriptions, sometimes by the proper determinative for city, and sometimes by that for district or canton, as here and on Merneptah's stele, apparently indifferently M. Virolleaud, however, has recently suggested the identity of the site with the Ugarit of the cuneiform documents, so that further discussion may be awaited on this point.

Whatever the contemporary name of the site, it is clear that it must have been of great importance in the later Bronze Age, which is that of maximum Egyptian influence in Syria and Palestine, when commercial and diplomatic communications were easy and frequent, and that the culture was that demonstrated by the post-War excavations of M. Montet at Byblus and of Messrs. Fisher and Alan Rowe at Beth Shan, and more recently still of Prof. Garstang, resuming the work initiated by Sellin and Watzinger at Jericho. The series of pots and jugs at the last-named site compares very accurately, piece for piece, with known examples of Mycenean ware. We have, in fact, at all these places, a syncretism of Egyptian, Mycenean, Hittite and Babylonian (Accadian) elements, with, of course, the typical Syrian and Palestinian features. The period is that in which the Israelite invasions are usually placed, the times from the Battle of Kadesh and the Boghaz Keui treaties onwards to those of Papyrus Anastasi I and Wen-Amen, roughly from 1250 to 1100 B.C. We know that between 1400 and 1100 B.C. a whole chain of Phœnician settlements existed on the Syrian coast from Dor under Mt. Carmel to the Sapuna (Ugarit ?) of this article in the N.W. corner. With the advent of David's empire we find the new Israelite control forming definite commercial, financial, and (doubtless) religious[3] connections with these settlements. David's friendship with Hiram of Tyre and Solomon's employment of Phœnician craftsmen are familiar instances. There is, therefore, little doubt that if we could recover the cultural atmosphere and the ideas respecting religion and worship of these settlements, which we know to have been those also of inland sites like Beth Shan and Jericho, we should be in a better position to form a true picture of the religion of Syria and Palestine at that period than we can expect to do from the unsupplemented Biblical records, written by those who regarded the native culture patterns with frank disapproval as blatant heathenism.

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[2] Actually the first clues were obtained by collecting initial and final letters and guessing these to represent the usual West Semitic prefixes and suffixes. The very first whole word deciphered was *m l k*, king.

It is perhaps considerations such as these which lie behind the following words of Prof. A. T. Olmstead, in a recent communication to the writer, when he says : "The Rās Shamra inscriptions are, in my opinion, the most important find since the Amarna letters, and I am not sure that they may not be placed even higher." On the other hand Prof. Eissfeldt, of Halle, a friend and colleague of Dr. Bauer, writes very cautiously in response to some tentative suggestions offered by me regarding the possible identifications of certain god-names at Rās Shamra with others already well-known

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[3] As the story of Elijah and Jezebel suggests.

" Before all the mythological texts shall have been published we shall be well advised to be wary about proposing identifications for the deities of Rās Shamra. It may well be that the identification Alein = Adonis may then turn out to be justified, but in the meantime nothing more certain can be said." Such a warning has especial weight as coming from the well-known editor and continuer of Count Baudissin's work on Kyrios. It is therefore with due hesitation, and with these warnings in mind, that we add a short description of the contents of the texts as far as these have yet been made public. We follow the translations of M. Virolleaud and Père Dhorme in *Syria* and *Rev. Biblique.*

There are 48 short texts relating to sacrificial ritual and five fragments of a six-column tablet containing the much discussed Alein myth of (as it would seem) the resurrected vegetation-god.

The first group of documents supplies the following pieces of evidence, according to Père Dhorme's translation. These will, of course, require confirmation and interpretation.

Text No. 1. Sacrifices were offered to El, Elohim, Śkmn (the white-haired ?), Ba'al, Asherat, Resheph, Baʻal of the years, and of the seasons, Elat of the tower and of the enclosures, ʻAnat of Gebal, Baʻalat of the cattle.

Text No. 2. Apollo (?) worshippers, Horites, Hittites, and Greeks (?) are to be expelled from the precincts.

Text No. 5. ʻAstarte introduces (the Egyptian ?) Ḥorus into the house of the king.

Text No. 6. Ḥorus shall go up. The good star shall be obscured. Thou shalt betake thyself to the Baʻalat ʻAin. Thou shalt kneel to the star.

Text No. 9. Various offerings are prescribed for different deities ; for El, a lamb (*sh* : Heb. *seh*) ; for Sapun, a ewe (*d k t*) ; for the " winged Ba'al", a heifer (*g d l t*) ; a steer (*' l p*) for Baʻal and 'Asherat ; birds (*ʻ ṣ r m*) for *' n s.*

There are references also to peace-offerings (*sh l m m*), to blood and life (*d m w n p sh*), to wine of the city (*y n q r t*), etc., the whole being introduced by the expression, *s l h n p sh*, apparently " health (or pardon) of the soul."

Text No. 12. A number of measures and commodities are mentioned, the words used for these having a striking resemblance to well-known Hebrew expressions, as *l t h* (Heb. *lethek*) ; *d d* (Heb. (*dūd*), a pot ; *k d* (Heb. *kad*), a jug ; *h̲ m r* (Heb. *hōmer*), a *homer*. The varieties of produce mentioned include barley, oil of myrrh, raisins, figs and flowers.

The regulations in Leviticus and on the sacrifice tablets found at Carthage and Marseilles (CIS i. 165, 166, 167) will immediately be recalled. The Rās Shamra tablets, Nos. 9 and 12, in fact, resemble the last two very much. It does look as if further investigation might yield something like a more or less complete body of information regarding the Syrian pantheon at this period, and the sacrificial rites then customary in N. Syria. But side by side with rites there are always myths ; and it is only from a study of these that the nature of the deities as conceived, and the peculiar relations in which each stood to his or her worshippers, can be really understood.

It is therefore the myth-story of Alein son of Ba'al, who dies and lives again, of his enemy Mot (Death) son of 'El, and of the Virgin 'Anat, known from various contemporary inscriptions in the hieroglyphic character, as well as from the much later Aramaic Papyri at Assouan (Elephantiné), and here connected with the death of Alein and his resurrection, which has aroused the most vivid interest, Some have already sought to connect these fragments with the Adonis-myth related by Philo Byblius in the 2nd Cent. A.D., whilst others have suggested a parallel with the cedar-god (the younger brother Bata) in the D'Orbiney Papyrus, who, like Osiris and Adonis, dies and is resurrected, and whose *mise-en-scène* is N. Syria. Such speculations are as yet premature. We mention them only in order to show the nature of the interest which this document has aroused. There is doubtless much more to come from Rās Shamra, which must be awaited. We conclude then by giving a synopsis of the relevant parts of the myth as translated by M. Virolleaud from the fragments recovered.

The six-column tablet containing the Alein myth :

Column 1. There is lamentation because Alein (son of) Ba'al is dead. The god El cries to Asherat, Lady of the Sea, that she give one of her sons to reign in his place. Ishtar-'rph is chosen to sit on the throne of Alein (son of) Ba'al.

Column 2. The virgin goddess 'Anat appears, ranging and ravening like a dog among the sheep. She seizes Mot (Death) and cries, " Thou, Mot, give me my brother ! " Mot replies that the breeze which gives life has vanished. *S ps* (?), the torch of the gods, declares : " The unrained-upon plains are in the hand of Mot, the son of the gods." 'Anat seizes Mot. She cuts him with the sickle, winnows him with the fan, burns him in the fire, grinds him in the mill, sows him in order to eat his flesh.

Columns 3-4. When Mot had perished, then Alein (son of) Ba'al was alive, then Zebul (son of) Ba'al of the Earth existed. Lṭpn El-Dped (the heroic narrator) heard it said : " Good news, o my son whom I have created ! The skies shall rain down fatness ; the valleys shall be filled with plant-life (?) " Lṭpn El-Dped rejoiced. He cracked his fingers and laughed. He raised his voice and cried : " I will sit down and rest myself, since Alein (son of) Ba'al is alive ; since Zebul (son of) Ba'al of the Earth exists."

The virgin 'Anat then cries again to Mot and threatens the wrath of his father, the bull-god (*sh r 'l 'b k*). The search for Alein continues.

Column 5 is very broken. But evidently the text speaks of the victory of Ba'al and his forces over Mot, and a renewed attack by Mot on Alein.

Column 6. In this column the story of the combat is continued. *S ps* rebukes Mot for disobedience to his father, the bull-god, and foretells his discomfiture, which takes place.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

England in Palestine. By Norman Bentwich, O.B.E., Attorney-General of Palestine (1922-31). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd. With a map. 12s. 6d. 1932.

Here we have an account of the recent history of Palestine and of the British Government under the Mandate by one who is able to write with intimate and first hand knowledge of the events. He has spent over fifteen years in the land, two and a half on military service, and thirteen as legal adviser of the Government. It is the fullest popular account of the period of 1917-1931 yet published· On the thorny subject of Zionism Mr. Bentwich writes with candour and fairness, and the reader cannot but be struck with his moderation and caution.

The period covered has been one of momentous happenings and extraordinary difficulties. There have been two very serious clashes between the Arab and Jewish irreconcilables. Blood has been shed and the progress of any kind of co-operation between the Arab and Jewish elements has been slow indeed. Tension still exists, and it is to be feared that British troops and British police will still be necessary for years to come. Why this is so, this history shows. Much has been written on the under-population of Palestine, but until there is much further agricultural development there is no room for immigrants seeking work. The fellahin are miserably poor and their only hope lies in their clinging to their ill-developed village lands, and in being assisted to cultivate them better. They dread being ousted; while the keen Zionists resent delays in stepping into what they consider their national inheritance. Both—in the ignorant mass—consider that Great Britain has promised the land to the Jews. Infinite mischief has been done by the press both in Palestine and outside.

The story of the many difficulties which have attended the civil administration under its first three High Commissioners is narrated in Part I. After the capture of Jerusalem, General Allenby made the historic proclamation that every form of religion, every endowment and every sacred building should " be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and belief of those to whose faith they were sacred." A Military Administration was established. The British Government lost no time in giving effect at once to the Balfour Declaration, even during the clash of arms. The pitiable condition of the Jews made it a matter of urgency that something should be done at once. With their permission a Commission, under the leadership of Professor Weizmann, was despatched by the Central Zionist Organisation to assist the Jewish population and to make enquiries as to possible future development. Professor Weizmann, in meeting the leading Arabs on his arrival, denied emphatically the allegation, which was already being spread, that the Jews intended to take the political domination of Palestine into their hands and to create a Jewish State. There appeared to be signs of a friendly good feeling and his invitation to a good understanding was acclaimed by Arab and Jew alike.

On 30th of June, 1920, Sir Herbert Samuel arrived in Jerusalem to assume office as first High Commissioner. The first six months was marked by comparative political tranquility and remarkable administrative and economic development. Early in 1921 signs of unrest began, and the Arab Nationalists took advantage of Mr. Winston Churchill's visit to voice their grievances and their extremely drastic demands. In May a disturbance broke out, caused by Jews affiliated to the Moscow International who insisted in taking part in a forbidden May Day demonstration. This spark kindled a fire, and led to a sanguinary uprising of Arabs against Jews in and around Jaffa, during which many were killed and much property was destroyed. After this was settled the High Commissioner used every endeavour to get the Arab Nationalists to take their proper share in the Executive Council of Palestine, which was to pave the way for a Legislative Council of 22, of whom 12 were to be elected. Three times the Moslem and Christian population—led astray by Nationalist agitators—refused to co-operate. The third refusal was considered final.

Chapter VI—"The conclusion of the Book of Samuel"—describes the last six months of Sir Herbert Samuel's administration. "Events conspired to make his last six months a period of fulfilment of promise and to give him the reward for four years of patient work in which he had struggled successfully against adverse circumstances."

"And the land had rest" heads the chapter on Lord Plumer's three years administration. His may be described as an almost paternal government well suited to Orientals, and his personality and his high military reputation as a Great Field Marshal made it possible for him to reduce greatly the military forces.

Lord Plumer left Palestine at the beginning of August, 1921, and his successor, Sir John Chancellor, did not arrive to take up his appointment until the beginning of December.

" A little devil moved a cord of the tent and upset the whole camp."—this Arab proverb heads the chapter on—The Crisis of the Wailing Wall. Beginning as a very small thing this dispute grew and grew until it finally culminated in the terrible outbreak of August, 1929. All this and " the Aftermath " are described in a masterly way, only possible to one of judicial mind and quick observation on the spot.

Part II describes from an inside knowledge the Government of Palestine as regards (I) The Executive ; (II) The Legislative Power ; and (III) The Judiciary. Some will consider these chapters the most important in the book.

It only remains to add that two chapters and one Appendix deal with the difficult question of Transjordan—a problem now, for a time at any rate, happily solved. There are other Appendixes consisting of official documents connected with the Mandate.

" England in Palestine " is a historical work of permanent importance. It is also of outstanding interest to those interested in Palestine at the present time.

The Third Wall of Jerusalem, an account of excavations. By E. L. Sukenik and L. A. Mayer. London : Oxford University Press —(Also published in Hebrew in Jerusalem). 1930.

At the time of the commencement of the excavations here described a brief account appeared in the *Quarterly Statement* (1925, pp. 172-182). A few words about this volume, though somewhat belated, may not be amiss as it may not be widely known in Great Britain and yet is of great importance for all those who would understand the topography of Jerusalem. The excavations were started originally on a small scale by the Palestine Jewish Exploration Society, and were continued in co-operation with the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Several Jerusalem residents gave their assistance particularly in regard to plans and photographs, and Mr. Crowfoot himself read the manuscript and made valuable suggestions.

That the "Third Wall" lay to the north of the existing northern wall of Jerusalem is an old theory and disjointed remains (covering a wider area even than those now examined) which were supposed to mark its course were pointed out by Edward Robinson nearly a century ago.[1]

The discovery of a huge drafted block at the junction of the Nablus Road and Richard Cœur-de-Lion Street in 1925 re-opened the question and started the search for further remains.

The result of the excavations has been to reveal fragmentary remains of a wall of huge drafted masonry extending altogether about 540 yards. The width of the wall and the occurrence of traces of four towers projecting northwards, together with the general alignment, prove conclusively that the fragments found belonged to a great City wall. It is difficult, indeed, not to accept the view—as the authors do—that this is the wall started, according to Josephus, by Agrippa I (40-44 A.D.), and finished by the people of Jerusalem about thirty years later, during the First Revolt against the Romans.

The only substantial criticism comes from Father Vincent, whose opinion on any archæological subject must always be taken seriously. He argues that there is much to be said for the view that this wall belonged to the time of Bar Kokhba's revolt in 131-132 A.D., but Messrs. Sukenik and Mayer appear to have a successful answer to this view.

The volume is so excellently illustrated by photographs and plans that the reader is in a position to weigh all the evidence himself.

Report of the Department of Agriculture and Forests for the years 1927-1930. Jerusalem : Printing and Stationery Department. 100 mils. 1932.

We have recently received this welcome addition to our library from the Director of the Department of Agriculture in the Government of Palestine.

The department of Agriculture in Palestine has had no lack of advisers during the period covered by this report. The Report on Land Reform by Sir Ernest Dowson, and that on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development by Sir John Hope-Simpson, have been widely noticed in our home press. There have been many other visiting specialists, chiefly from U.S.A., who have made reports connected with special aspects of agriculture.

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[1] Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, Vol. I., pp. 314-315.

From time immemorial Palestine has been periodically devastated by locust invasions, cattle plague and drought, and heavy damage has been done by field mice, insect pests and endemic diseases of animals and plants. It has been one continual fight, and here we have here a record of the forces that have been organised to battle with these enemies. With regard to locusts in particular, the results—though costly bought—have been happily successful.

It is generally recognised that nothing has injured Palestine's climate and productiveness more than the extensive destruction of her forests, meaning by this not only her timber but her woodlands. It is gratifying to read that 260 square miles have been set aside as forest reserves. Some 3½ million trees have been planted by the Government in afforestation centres, while private planting has made notable headway, particularly among the Jewish Colonies. Over a million trees have been planted in private domains. The variety of trees experimented with is enormous; the list covers over seven closely printed pages. Many varieties are still on trial. Olive plantation has been encouraged, and during the period under review more than 63,700 olive trees have been planted.

The citrus industry is the mainstay of Palestine commercially and is likely to remain so. Great stress is here laid upon the need of improvement in picking, planting and packing of oranges. At present great quantities of bad oranges have to be thrown out from boxes on arrival in Europe, a much higher percentage than with shipments from Spain, America and South Africa. Government inspection and control of export is needed. The real cause of the poor condition of the overseas market can, however, often be traced to faults in the cultivation, beginning with the first planting of the seed. It is a matter of urgency that there should be immediately established a station where the principles of citriculture can be studied. Oranges and grape fruit can be grown to perfection in Palestine. The latter fruit is coming well to the fore and its export is rapidly increasing.

The report on the Fisheries Service is very interesting and in the Appendix there is an illustrated catalogue of all the edible fishes of Palestine. The present fishing industry of Palestine is estimated to be worth about £90,000 to the country, the net value to the fishermen of the fish locally produced ; but another £70,000 which is now spent on imported fish may ultimately be replaced by local production.

Fishing in the Lake of Tiberias appears to be overdone ; the number of fishermen has become more than the industry can support, and it would seem that the fish production of the lake has been steadily declining and the fish are somewhat smaller in size.

There are several interesting sections of the report which it has been impossible even to touch upon, but all are of importance and of interest to those who are watching the modern development of the Holy Land with sympathy. And lastly, mention must be made of the fourteen pages of excellent illustrations at the end of the report.

Das Heilige Land in Nàturfarbenphotographie. Urachrom, Munich, 2 N.W., Theresienstrasse 75.

We have received a sample of this remarkable publication in the form of a cardboard case containing 66 photographs in their natural colours. The pictures are of postcard size and the correctness of the colours, recalling the brilliancy of spring in the Holy Land, are quite extraordinary. These views taken with every regard to artistic effect give—for their size—a better impression of the most striking views in Palestine that any we have seen. To those familiar with the country they will be a delight. They are divided into two editions—A. for Catholics and B. for Protestants.

The series of 66 costs 12 marks, but there are eleven series of six each costing 1.20 marks each packet. Six of the series illustrate Jerusalem itself, and the other five other parts of the land. In the sample box sent us there are included two maps of Palestine and a plan of modern Jerusalem—all postcard size—as well as a small handbook—in German—giving a description of each view.

Those subscribers to the P. E. F. who would like to inspect these views may do so at our office, 2, Hinde Street, any day.

Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village. By Hilma Granquist Helsingfors : Akademische Buchhandlung. 75 m. 1931.

This thesis embodies some results of ethnological research upon which the author was engaged among the Palestinian Arabs for some three years. The investigation was made at the well-known village of Artas, situated south of Bethlehem on the edge of the Judaean desert.

The material collected is grouped under three main heads—"The Age of Marriage," "The Choice of the Bride," "Marriage for Consideration."—There are geneological trees, marriage lists and marriage tables, and a plan showing the localities from which strangers came who contracted marriages from outside the village circle. The 200 pages are packed with folklore and ethnological facts collected with meticulous care.

In her introduction to the inner life of the people the author acknowledges her indebtedness to the "inestimable help and value' she had from Louise Baldensperger "who had actually lived in the village more than 30 years and knew the people thoroughly. With the great interest in folklore, which seems to be a family trait, she has collected a rich experience of fellahin customs and habits and life especially in her own village." The author, however, gradually came to realise the necessity of dealing direct with the people themselves in their own language.

She has attempted here to concentrate all her investigations on one single small village. She quotes Jaussen's opinion of long ago, that it was necessary to avoid generalisations as to customs in Palestine as a whole, and that customs are so different in places often not far apart that each separate place should be dealt with in a special monograph. If Artas provides such a wealth of detail and has occupied so long a time, what would enquiry on similar lines require in a town such as Nablûs ?

Artas is peculiarly situated historically. Twice within memory it has been destroyed by tribal enemies with consequent desertion of the site by its inhabitants. Only in 1830 did the people begin to return after the second destruction. It is during this hundred years—that is to say four-five generations—since 1830 that the comparative examination of all the marriages have been made. It deals with a small community within a definite limit of time.

No one writing to make a scientific study of marriage customs in the Holy Land and the light they throw upon the Old Testament can afford to neglect this careful and most illuminating work which, it may be added, gives copious references to all the literature bearing on the subject.

E. W. G. M.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN JERUSALEM was held on Thursday, October 6th, 1932, in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, SIR CHARLES CLOSE, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., Sc.D., F.R.S., presiding. The Business Meeting of Subscribers to the B.S.A.J. was held at 4.30 p.m., and was followed at 5 o'clock by an Open Public Meeting to which P.E.F. subscribers and other friends had been invited. The Director of the School, MR. J. W. CROWFOOT, C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., then gave an illustrated account of the EXCAVATIONS AT SAMARIA, conducted by him on behalf of the School, the Palestine Exploration Fund, Harvard University, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A fuller account will be given in the next issue.

By the death of Field-Marshal Viscount Plumer of Messines, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., on July 16th, both the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem have lost a staunch friend and supporter. Lord Plumer became a member of the General Committee of the Fund and a Vice-President of the School in 1925, and during his term of office as High Commissioner in Palestine, 1925-28, he took a keen interest in the archæology of the country, which he afterwards maintained. Members who attended the Annual Meeting of the B.S.A.J. in 1928, at which Lord Plumer presided, will recollect his energetic and sincere appeal on behalf of the School.

We regret to have to record the sudden death on July 28th of the Rev. W. Ewing, D.D., whose connection with the Holy Land, and with the Palestine Exploration Fund, is a long one. While acting as Missionary in Charge of the Scottish Presbyterian Mission in Galilee, Mr. Ewing made an archæological tour East of the Jordan, of which he gave a full account, together with a large collection of Greek and other inscriptions collected by himself, in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1895. In 1910 he was co-editor of the Temple Dictionary of the Bible, in the writing of which he used to the full his knowledge of Palestine. He became, in 1906, a member of the General Committee of the Fund by election, and from that time he seldom failed to express his apologies if he was unable to be present at the Annual Meeting. His love for the Holy Land was deep, and he returned there again and again. It must have been a peculiar satisfaction to him to have been appointed Head of the Church of Scotland Hospice so recently opened in Jerusalem. His sudden death will be felt as a great loss.

Another old friend of Jerusalem has passed away, Miss K. M. Reynolds, whose beautiful water-colour drawings of the Flowers of the Holy Land were reproduced and published in booklet form a few years ago.

Professor Garstang is proposing to print his reports of the excavations and finds at Jericho in the Liverpool *Annals of Art and Archæology*. The first report has already been published in a double number of the journal (Vol. xix, Nos. 1-2), and consists of 22 pages of letter-press (with some plans and illustrations) and twenty-three plates. As no off-prints are being prepared, all who are interested in the work—and they must be many—should subscribe to the journal or at least induce their library to do so. The annual subscription to the Annals is one guinea (apply to the Secretary of the University Press, 177, Brownlow Hill, Liverpool). Prof. Garstang's successful labours have caught the imagination of the public, and it should be remembered that in addition to the discoveries which are of interest for the historical study of the Bible, he found numerous tombs well-stocked with pottery, which are likely to be of no less intrinsic importance.

The following interesting paragraph on the work at Mizpah we quote from the Palestine correspondent's letter in *The Near East and India*, July 28 :—

> "As testimony from the tomb continues to emerge in the course of excavations—in regard to which no other season has shown so plentiful a crop—it is increasingly evident that history repeats itself in both customs and habits : and in recent diggings in the necropolis near Mizpah, the ancient fortified city where Professor William Badè, of California, has been heading an expedition, one tomb yielded fifty bronze bracelets, strings of beads, and other forms of jewellery, illustrating the feminine love of ornament in ancient Canaan. Most of the beads were carnelian, so admirably cut that any modern woman would be proud to wear them. The tomb contained hundreds of juglets, lamps, bowls, pyxes and pitchers, some of striking form and finish, and a dozen dainty oil bottles imported from Cyprus more than a thousand years B.C. In one level of the tomb were found thirteen scarabs, seven of which bear the cartouche of Thutmosis III., an Egyptian king who made numerous expeditions into Syria and Palestine during the fifteenth century B.C. Sixteen button seals with ancient heraldic animal devices are of great archæological interest. One contains alphabetic or hieroglyphic symbols of an unknown kind. Another large Byzantine tomb contained beautiful glass bottles and pitchers, and some highly ornamental lamps. A thousand museum objects were secured during the past season, many of them shedding new light upon Biblical history. The discovery and excavation of the gate of ancient Mizpah was one of the sensations of the season. It is the first time in the history of Palestinian archæology that an ancient city gate has been found so well preserved. The door-sockets, the door-stop against which the double-winged gate closed, the long slot in which the iron bar rested, the stone seats at the entrance where

the judges gave decisions, and the gate-keeper's room from which he could ascend to the gate-tower—these and other features serve to illustrate Biblical descriptions in a way that has not hitherto been possible."

By an arrangement with Sir Flinders Petrie, Members of the P.E.F. are enabled to purchase at half the published price the Reports of the British School of Archæology in Egypt dealing with the Society's researches in Palestine. Reciprocally, the excavation Reports of the P.E.F. henceforth issued are available to Members of the School in Egypt similarly at half-price. P.E.F. Members desirous of taking advantage of this privilege should apply to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, W.1.

Antiques for Sale.—A small collection of antiquities from the excavations at Ophel is on view at the Museum of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, and a number of duplicates including pottery lamps, stamped Rhodian jar-handles, etc., are on sale.

Miss C. M. Finn has kindly presented to the Fund seven pieces of Archaic Greek pottery, five vases of which are certified by the British Museum as Corinthian ware dating from the seventh century, B.C. Miss Finn instructs that they be offered for sale, and that the proceeds be devoted to the work of the Fund. Interested collectors are invited to call at 2, Hinde Street, and inspect them.

We have further to thank Miss Finn for the recent gift of sundry diagrams and photographs, books, a walnut portfolio stand, botanical specimens, coins, and other objects, which will be of use in connection with the forthcoming re-organisation of the Fund's collection.

Churches at Jerash.—A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928-1930, by J. W. Crowfoot, C.B.E., M.A., has been published as Supplementary Paper

No. 3 by the Council of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, and can be obtained at 2, Hinde Street. Price 5s. The reduced price to members of the P.E.F. or B.S.A.J. is 2s. 6d.

The library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains some duplicate volumes. They may be purchased, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found on p. 176.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contribution from George Mathieson, Esq., £20.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND INCOME TAX.—Subscribers may, if they wish, covenant to pay their subscriptions for seven years, thereby enabling the Fund to benefit by the recovery of Income Tax thereon. A form of covenant was issued with the July *Quarterly Statement*, and copies of this form may be had on application to the Assistant Secretary.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge receipt of the forms already completed.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £15 15s. Subscriber's price £14 14s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

The Museum at the Office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5 except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

Posthumous Essays. By Harold M. Wiener, ed. by H. Loewe. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.

The Near East, July 21. Development in Palestine.

Jericho: City and Necropolis. By John Garstang. From the Liverpool Annals of Art and Archæology, vol. xix, 1-2.

The Antiquaries Journal.

The Expository Times, August. Recent Biblical Archæology, by the Rev. J. W. Jack.

The New Judaea, June-July. Sea-wards (Jewish interests in the Mediterranean), by D. Ben-Gurion.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, April. Reports on the work of the school in Jerusalem, by Director Burrows; new light on early Canaanite language and literature, by W. F. Albright; new publications in the history and archæology of Palestine; two Greek inscriptions from Beit Rās, by C. C. McCown.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, June.

Supplement to the Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology, March. Excavations at Tureng Tepe near Asterābād, by F. R. Wulsin.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), June. A lead sarcophagus from Syria.

The Museum Journal, Philadelphia, xxiii, 2.

American Journal of Philology.

Homiletic Review.

Jewish Quarterly Review, July. The Am Haaretz, by S. Zeitlin.

Geographical Review.

Ain Shems Excavations, 1928-31, Part 1. By Elihu Grant, with a chapter on the history by I. F. Wood. Haverford College, Penn. 1931.

Journal Asiatique, January-March. "Minoan" archives from Mallia.

Revue Biblique, July. The route of the Exodus from Goshen to Marah, by C. Bourdon; two Sabaean expiatory inscriptions, by G. Ryckmans; new (Greek) inscriptions from the Jebel Druze and the Hauran, by M. Dunand; an Egypto-Moabite stele from Balu'a, by G. Horsfield and Father Vincent.

Syria, xiii, 1. Summary report of the Third Season's excavations at Minet el-Beida and Ras Shamra, by F.-A. Claude Schaeffer; the people of Japhet after Gen. x, by Edouard Dhorme; Syrian antiquities, by Henri Seyrig; the exhibition of Persian art at London, by Gaston Wiet.

Archiv für Orientforschung, viii, 1-2. An Aramaic treaty of the 8th cent. B.C., by Hans Bauer; full survey of excavations in the Near East, by Peter Thomsen, and others.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, lv, 1-2. The topography of the Battle of Kadesh, by A. Alt; the new excavations at Tell Ghassūl, by R. Köppel; the story of Ehud and Eglon, by O. Glaser; results of a geological expedition to Palestine, by P. Range; inscriptions from Capernaum (by E. L. Sukenik) and Gadara (by J. Jeremias).

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, July. The old Canaanite epic o Ras Shamra, by D. H. Baneth.

Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäolog. Instituts: Athenische abteilung, lvi, 1931.

Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei: Bolletino, April-May The excavations at Teleilat Ghassul in Transjordania, by Alexis Mallon.

Clara Rhodas. Part I. Sculptural Monuments in the Archæological Museum at Rhodes. Amedes Maiuri; Part II, The same, by Giulio Jacopi; Temple and Theatre of Apollo, by Giulio Jacopi; Part III, The same, by Luciano Laurenzi. Istituto Storico Archeologico, Rodi, 1932.

History (Toledoth) of the Arabs and Moslems in the land of Israel. By Zeeb Vilnai. Two vols. (in Hebrew), published by Stybel, Tel-Aviv. 1932.

La Revue de l'Académie Arabe, Damascus.

Al-Mashrik.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ.

Bible Lands.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Isräliten.* (Leipzig, 1837).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems* (1890).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated, and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. i, *Sabbath* already in the Library ; subsequent volumes wanted.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identification and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement,* the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of———— to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

POTS, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

By Grace M. Crowfoot.

Those who watch the changing scene in Palestine are often surprised at the rapid triumph of the new over the old, but perhaps as often surprised by the persistence of ancient customs and uses throughout this modernization. In Sebustiya, for instance, the horse has become extinct as a consequence of the introduction of the automobile; where once twenty were kept before the war, now none exist. But, on the other hand, customs and crafts, often extremely primitive in character, still continue. Such crafts are of especial interest to the archæologist, as they throw light on the humbler fragments turning up in excavations, and we have had more than one example of this at Samaria, notably as concerns the pottery. None is now made at Sebustiya itself, but there are several places in the district where the craft is practised; for example, hand-made ware, without a wheel, is made by women at Kufr Lebbad, Sinjil, Balata, and other villages near Nablus, while wheel-made pottery is made by men at Jeba and Nablus. Our visits to some of these potters, and study, though cursory, of their craft, have had most suggestive results as the following accounts will show.

An Israelite Footbath.—In one of the Israelite tomb pits on the west of the Stadium, among a mass of pottery of about the viiith and ixth century, B.C., was found the fragments of a vessel which, after reconstruction, received the name of the "footbath," from its suggestive shape, having a stand in the centre like the footrest of a shoeblack's box (Fig. 1). This vessel is in a coarse greyish to buff ware, greyish-black at break, which had been covered with a red slip burnished, now much worn away. It is oval in shape, 60 c. long and 40 c. broad, has straight sides 16 c. high, and a flat base; below the rim inside are four ledge handles, so that it could be lifted by two persons; at the base is a nozzle, and in the centre a stand, just the right size and shape for a footrest, 12 c. high and 14 c. long. Fragments of at least two more similar vessels were found in a great rock trench full of Israelite pottery, probably remains of tomb offerings, below the hill on the east side of the village above the path leading to Nakura. So far as we knew, the shape had not been found before ; we had nothing to compare it with, ancient or modern.*

In July, 1931, two of our party had the opportunity of visiting Sinjil, a village about 20 miles from Nablus, where the women make large water jars and other ware by hand, ornamented with designs in dark red, very similar to those made at Ramallah.

A selection of the ware was set out under a tree for our inspection, and among the pots we saw a bowl that struck us at once by its resemblance to our Israelite "footbath" (Fig. 2). It was not exactly identical with it, either in ware or shape ; the ancient vessel was oval, the modern round ; the ancient ware covered with a red slip burnished, the modern with a yellowish slip painted with designs in dark red : the modern footrest, too, instead of having two supporting pillars, like the ancient one, had but one, while the other end ran into the bowl edge ; still, the resemblance was astonishing. On enquiry we found that the modern bowl is actually used for the ritual washing of feet before prayer, and is called *wadu`* ; in using it the foot is placed on the rest and water poured over it.

Later on, when visiting the potters of Jeba, we found a wheel-made bowl, with a simple pillar and knob in the centre, being made for the same purpose, and called by the same name (Fig. 3).

More recently still, we have acquired, through Miss L. Baldensperger, a very rude bowl in heavy grey ware, with a similar footrest to our Sinjil example, made at Nahalin, a village near Beit Izkariye, in the Hebron district. She tells us that this bowl is used by women for ablution at prayers, and is called by them *Umm Sall*, "Mother of Prayer". As our ancient examples were found in tombs, we think it may be presumed that they, like their modern counterparts, were used for ritual ablutions.

Some Mediæval Cooking Pots.—In the season of 1931 a certain amount of pottery was found in a small room at the west end of the Church of St. John the Baptist. This room had obviously been used as a kitchen, perhaps by a priest, who may have had his bedroom in another room above, to which steps ascended, or perhaps, later still after the ruin of the church, by some squatter; it may have been in use as late as the xvth century. The pottery consisted of a fine jug in drab to reddish ware, decorated with geometrical patterns in a very dark purplish red on a buff slip, of late Arab type; a bowl in coarse ware with a brownish slip burnished and decorated with rows of holes punched below the rim; a lamp; a complete cooking pot. and fragments of another—in fact, quite a complete kitchen equipment.

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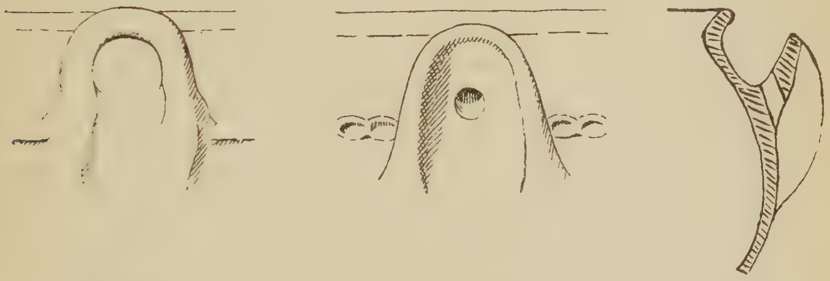
* We have since heard that a similar vessel has been found by Dr. Badè at Tell en-Nesbi.

We hope at some future time to discuss the affinity between the Arab painted ware and the modern painted ware of Sinjil and Ramallah, but here we are only concerned with the cooking pot ware.



TYPE 1. TYPE 2. TYPE 3.

FIG. 6.

The complete pot (Fig. 4, Type 1) is in a coarse drab ware, with a thin slip of the same colour, burnished; it has a ridge rudely waved round the body and two small waved ridges in front only, below the rim; the base is rounded, and at the sides are handles, convenient rounded loops for lifting it by. An examination of the ware at break shows bright shining grits in some quantity, to which we shall return.

The fragmentary pot (Fig. 5, Type 2) could not be reconstructed, but it appeared to be of similar shape to the other, though slightly smaller; it was also of similar ware, but had a different ornament, a band with impressed finger prints; the handles also were different, ear-shaped, each pierced with a hole and projecting in an oddly archaic fashion. The handle of Pot 1 is shown in Fig. 6 (1), and that of Pot 2 in Fig. 6 (2).

Fragments of other pots in coarser yellowish brown ware, showing shining grits, with handles of Type 2, larger and projecting more widely still from the side of the pot, were found with fragments of bowls and dishes in brown and green glazed ware outside the East wall of the Church.

Similar Ware from Other Sites. Cooking Pot 1.—A cooking pot was found by Mr. Chitty at the Monastery of St. Euthymius, about 5 ft. below the modern surface ground level and the same distance above the pavement of the Monastery, N.E. of the Tomb Block. It has been protected by the springing of a semi-vault supporting a staircase, and signs of fire were noticed near it. From its position, Mr. Chitty thinks it may date from the XIVth or XVth century. The pot is in a coarse drab ware, with traces of crude burnishing, and glittering specks can be seen at break. The ware, the shape of the pot and its handles, all show close resemblances to our Type 1.

Cooking Pot 2.—A complete cooking pot with large eared handles, pierced with holes, similar to the handles of our Type 2, was found at Beth Shemesh in 1931. Dr. Grant has kindly given permission to mention this pot, as yet unpublished. It came from the site of the Byzantine Monastery, fairly near the surface, with fragments of others, all agreeing in their main features, especially in having grotesque handles.

Sir Flinders Petrie has also found a handle at Tell Ajjul (1932) which is very similar to that of our Type 2, it is in a coarse ware with large shining grits, covered with a yellowish brown slip burnished. This handle was found in surface layers, with fine Arab painted ware which has been assigned to the Xth century, A.D. (Fig. 11). I am indebted for this to Mr. Richmond Brown. All the examples mentioned therefore belong to the mediæval period.

Comparison with Modern Cooking Pots.—On the discovery of our mediæval cooking pots at Sebustiya, we noticed that Type 1 was extremely like the pots used at the present day in the village, and made in Kufr Lebbad, near Tul Karem ; the handles, in particular, though not identical with ours, were very similar and set on at the same angle. The handles of Type 2, on the other hand, could not be paralleled by any seen in use in our neighbourhood, but strikingly resembled the handles of the cooking pots used in Jerusalem, and made at Jib, not far from Ramallah. The ware of our pots also seemed to resemble the modern ware from both these places, with its shining grits showing even through the burnished surface.

These strong resemblances in shape and ware roused our interest in the modern craft, and we visited both Kufr Lebbad and Jīb, and also, finding a woman from Kufr Lebbad who had married into a family at Sebustiya, we persuaded her to make some pots to our order at the camp, so that we could study the process in detail.

The resemblances in ware noted between the ancient and modern fabrics were strikingly confirmed and elucidated. Both at Kufr Lebbad and Jīb, the clay is deliberately mixed with crystalline calcite ground fine, in the proportion of one part calcite to two of clay. Mr. Guy has kindly had a fragment of the mediæval Sebustiya pot (Type 1) examined at Megiddo by Mr. Lamon, who reports that it contains many large and small pieces of crystalline calcite in such a proportion as to make it certain that the calcite could not have been present naturally in the clay. With the evidence of the modern use to support this, we feel it safe to say that the glittering appearance of our old pot is caused, like that of the new, by the deliberate admixture of crystalline calcite with the clay.

The handles (Type 2) found east of the church also contained crystalline calcite in excess of any quantity that could have been present naturally, as well as a good deal of carbonized and calcified straw. The handle from Tell Ajjul also contains a large proportion of crystalline calcite that must have been added intentionally.

The following account gives details of the way in which the pots are made by the women of Kufr Lebbad (see Fig. 7) :

The Clay. The clay is grey in colour, very calcareous and containing a few small pieces of crystalline calcite ; it is brought to Kufr Lebbad from Burka, two or three hours away. The women say that the clay is so good that it can be used with very little preparation ; occasionally they have to wash it, but we did not see this done.

The Calcite. Crystalline calcite, in largish pieces, is brought on camel back from Kufr Qaddum, 5 m. west of Sebustiya. It is first broken up by hand with small hammer stones on larger stones, and non-crystalline fragments rejected. Then it is ground by two women in the stone hand mill, and finally sieved ; it now appears like a coarse white powder.

The Mixture. The formula for the mixture is " two-thirds clay and one-third calcite " (*Tilten tin w-tilt malīḥ*) ; it is carefully measured out with a small round basket. When enough has been mixed, water is added, and the clay is well kneaded.

Resting. After mixing the clay should be left for a little while, though this is not always done. One informant said that it should be rested for a day, but others said that it was better to leave it for two or three days.

Building the Pots. First Day.—The common practice is to begin making the pots on the afternoon of one day and finish them on the morning of the next. The potter chooses a smooth place to work on, preferably a roof or other place with a hard beaten floor. She slaps a great lump of clay down on the floor and begins by thrusting her fist into the middle of it, fashioning it thus into a rude hollow shape. Then she begins shaping it with one hand inside and the other outside, until it has become a large shallow bowl. Occasionally she rises and walks round and round the bowl with her hands on it, like a kind of human wheel. Finally stones are placed all round it for fear that it should sag and it is left to stand till next day. The pot is now complete till just below the handles.

Second Day.—The pot is now reckoned firm enough to support the handles, these are rolled out sausage-wise and at first stand upright ; and it is only as the clay hardens that they are gradually forced out to project at an angle from the sides. The next portion of rim is also rolled out into a coil or sausage before it is applied, and is afterwards thinned out with the hands, finally small pieces are added where necessary to even up the rim. No shaping or smoothing with any tool was seen—all is done with the hands, with much skill ; a most graceful gesture is the smoothing with the right hand, forefinger and thumb outside the rim.

Turning.—After two or three days drying, when the condition of the pot is right, as we should say, " leather hard," it is trimmed with a knife (*khōsa*), the " turning " of the English potter. The pot at this moment has still the flat base acquired by being pressed down on the ground while it was being shaped, and the base now has to be made round. This is done with the knife, which has the blade in the middle and is held by both hands, one at each end, a sort of spokeshave, in fact. The handles are also trimmed until their contours satisfy the potter's taste.

Burnishing.—(Fig. 9). The pot is now ready for burnishing. The potter smears a slip, made from the same clay as the pot, all over it, and polishes it by rubbing it with a smooth cockle shell, inside and out. In the case where we were able to watch the process from first to last the potter had a small pot with water and a lump of clay beside her, and mixed the slip a little at a time, burnishing over it and then adding a little more. In the later stages she added smaller fragments of clay and less water until for the last delicate touches she contented herself with licking the shell. This burnishing is a very slow process ; to get a really good shine, a woman will work at a pot for the best part of a day ; the lines of burnishing, as far as our observation goes are straight up and down for the bottom of the pot and round and round for the rim and the body. The shell, a smooth cockle (*zelafi*) is brought from the seashore where this kind is plentiful ; it is held with the forefinger inside it, as is well shown in the photograph (Fig. 11), for which I am indebted to Mrs. New.

Ornament.—Our friend in Sebustiya told us that she remembered, when she was a little girl, seeing her mother colouring the rim of some of her pots with a red slip made from red potsherds, and burnishing over it, but we saw no attempt at decoration on any pot at Kufr Lebbad, and the women, when questioned said : " What is the use of ornamenting a cooking pot ? "

Drying.—The cooking pots have to be dried further before firing ; the common practice is to put them inside the oven-house (*tabun*), in the recess where the fuel is kept ; this is said to prevent cracking. It is called " smoking " (*mudakhkhan*).

Firing.—This is done in an open kiln (*mishwa*). The potter watches till the wind is right for her purpose, just enough breeze to keep her fire lively, and then builds her pile of pots very carefully, all propped up on their sides with their mouths to the wind. Then she piles the fuel over them, dried branches of prickly pear being preferred to any other. When building the kiln at Sebustiya the potter used also some worn out Expedition baskets and was not pleased with the result as they gave off too much smoke. The firing takes about an hour and fresh fuel is thrown on from time to time ; the potter judges when they are sufficiently baked by their appearance—revealed by brushing a little of the burnt material away—and then fishes them out one by one with a long stick.

Other kinds of Pottery made.—Besides the cooking pots (*kidri* plu. *ikdur*) the women make flat dishes with two handles used for cooking eggs (*mikla*), lids for the cooking pots (*ghata*), bowls for children to eat from (*kudhīya*), large round kneading dishes (*batye*) all in the same ware.

The Making of Cooking Pots at Jıb.—(See Fig. 8). Our study of the craft here is not so complete as that at Kufr Lebbad, but we learnt enough to be sure that the process in the main is similar ; there is the same admixture of crystalline calcite with the clay, the hand-shaping without a tool, and the firing in an open kiln. The chief differences noted are :

At Jīb the handles are similar to the perforated lug handles of our Sebastiya type 2 (Fig. 10) ; the pot is shaped on a platter or *gălib* of sunbaked clay, which can be moved by hand when desired ; instead of being supported with stones the pot is carried higher on the first day and is bound round with bands of rag ; and a very perfunctory polishing with a bit of cane (*būs*) takes the place of the shell polishing. There is also an attempt at ornamentation, simple patterns being made on the shoulders of the pot by pricking holes with a bit of wire. The only other form seen was a very large bowl with four handles used as a washing bowl, and called *sifil.*

Conclusions.—The most interesting facts learnt in this study are three : (1) The survival of two mediæval types of cooking pot at Kufr Lebbad and Jıb respectively, of which we have already given illustrations.

(2) The survival of the practice of mixing crystalline calcite with the clay.

Why is this addition made ? There are two chief kinds of substances commonly added to clay in pot making, (*a*) Opening or hardening materials used to counteract any tendency of the clay to become deformed or crack during firing, *e.g.*, quartz, previously baked clay (grog), etc. ; (*b*) Materials which are able to render the clay impermeable to water, *e.g.*, fluxes such as felspar.

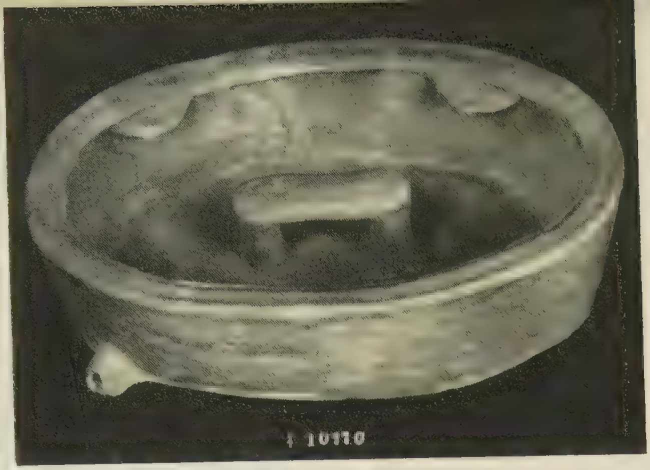


FIG. 1.—ISRAELITE FOOTBATH.

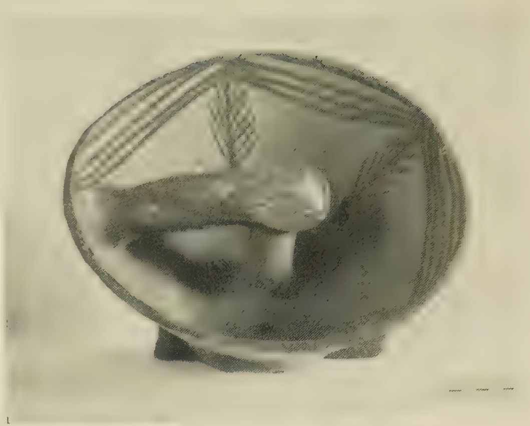


FIG. 2.—FOOTBATH FROM SINJIL.

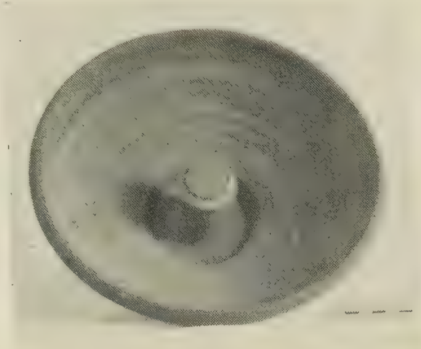


FIG. 3.—FOOTBATH FROM JEBA.

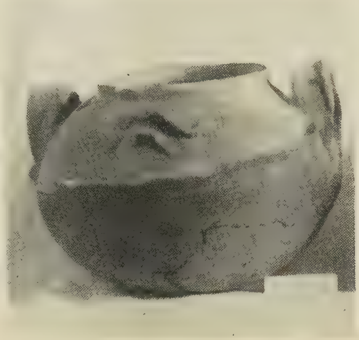


FIG. 4.—COOKING POT FROM SEBUSTIYA.

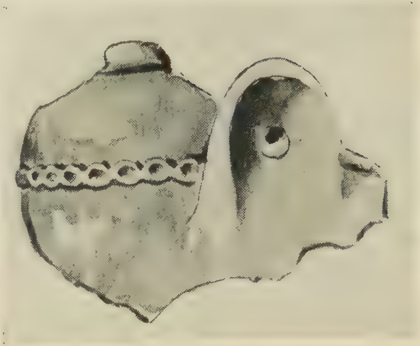


FIG. 5.—POT FROM SEBUSTIYA.

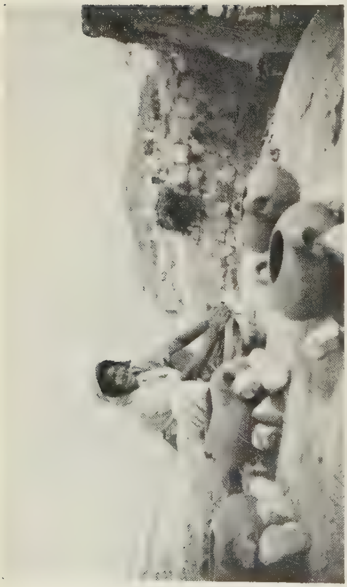


Fig. 7.—Making pots at Kufr Lebbad.

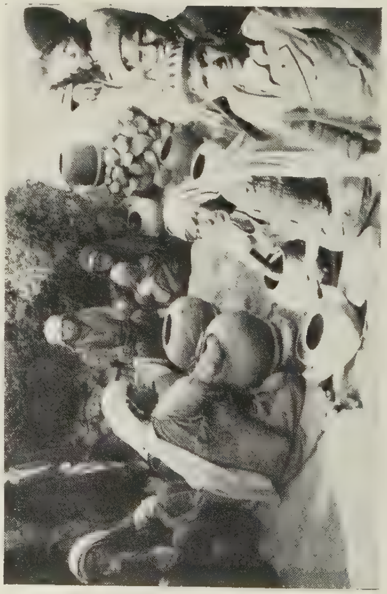


Fig. 8.—Making pots at Jib.

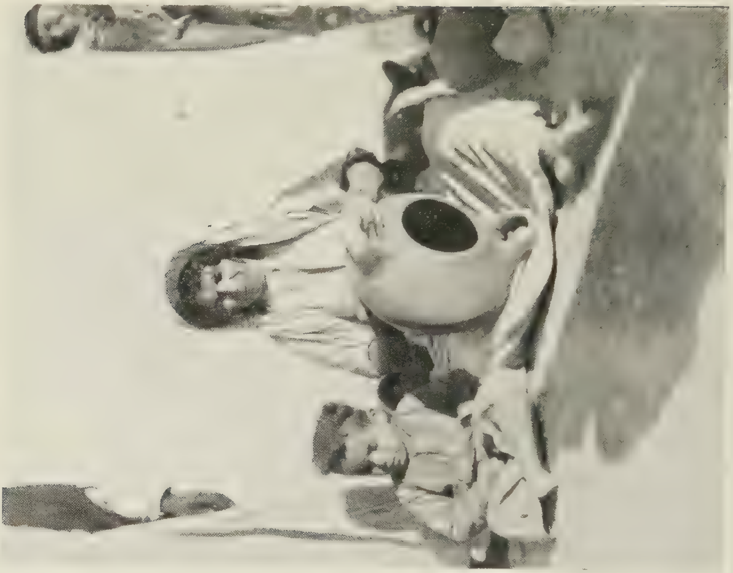


Fig. 9.—Shell burnishing at Kufr Lebbad.

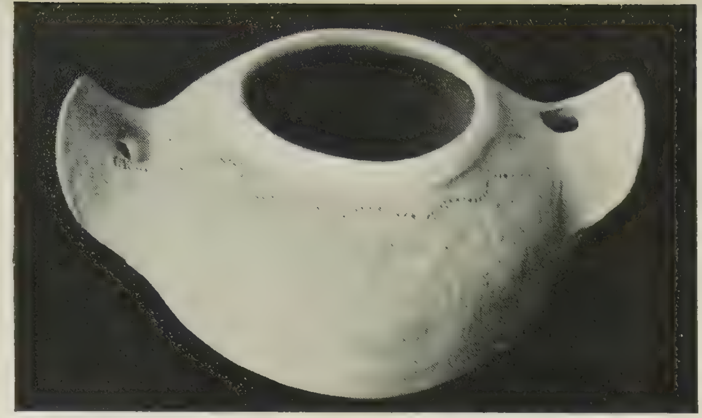


Fig. 10.—Cooking pot from Jib.

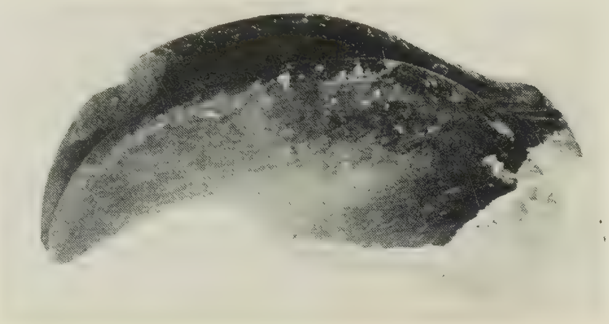


Fig. 11.—Handle of cooking-pot, Tell Ajjul.

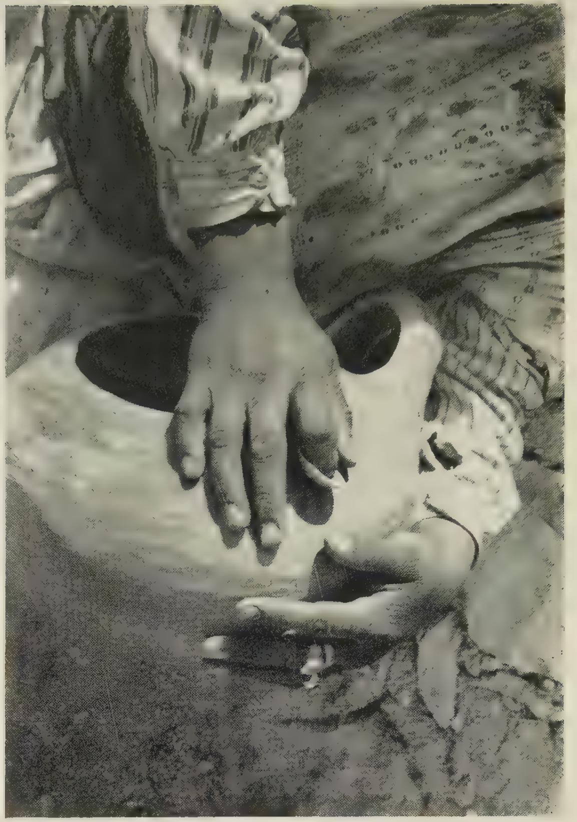


Fig. 12.—Potter's hands while burnishing with shell.

Calcite is usually placed in the second group. It decomposes at a low temperature which renders it useless ordinarily as a "grog," but the lime produced by this decomposition leads to the formation of a cement and so assists in the "waterproofing" of the pot.

In the sherds examined many pieces of calcite are seen shining, obviously not decomposed under the primitive condition of firing. It may therefore have been added as a hardening material instead of "grog," perhaps in imitation of an earlier use of quartz which is not easily obtainable in Palestine. But it is also possible that enough of the fine powder obtained by grinding has been burnt to assist in rendering the pot impermeable to water.

The women, too, as far as we could gather, certainly regard it as something more than the ordinary "grog," as they told us that it was impossible to make a good cooking-pot without it, and laughed at the suggestion that the crushed pot-sherds used in making jars at Sinjil might be employed instead. They consider that the addition of the calcite renders the pot better able to stand the fire. The addition may perhaps be compared to that of silica, a large proportion of which is added to the clay in the manufacture of modern fire proof pottery. Calcite could only be a substitute under the most primitive conditions.

Finally (3), the survival of the burnishing. This is extremely interesting as it was so common in early days in Palestine and elsewhere. The shell was very likely used then also for the purpose, as specimens are often found during the excavations, and they are favourite burnishers in primitive countries, such as the Sudan. We have not yet come across another instance of the practice in Palestine, but at Suf, in Trans-Jordan, the women who make large water jars by hand also make smaller jars which they burnish with a smooth pebble (*midlak*). This burnishing, in ancient as in modern use, also increases impermeability to water, besides being an ornament.

These cooking pots are poorly baked in an open fire, and it seems to be these laborious processes, the admixture of calcite and the burnishing, which have enabled them to hold their own in the local market.

THE MONASTERY OF ST. EUTHYMIUS.

By the Rev. Derwas J. Chitty, M.A.

A summary of the history of this monastery, with that of the sister foundation of St. Theoctistus, will be found in the *Quarterly Statement* for July, 1928. Much of the most important material is there in small print. Our knowledge from literary sources, so far as it concerns the buildings, may be tabulated as follows :—

About A.D. 425-7. Euthymius and Domitian settle "in a small cave, in which now is the grave of his precious relic." Peter Aspebet (the converted Arab sheikh), bringing craftsmen, makes a great λάκκος δίστομος "still preserved in the garden," and a bakery close by : and for the saint he made three cells, and an Oratory or Church(εὐκτήριον ἤτοι ἐκκλησίαν) in the midst of the cells (μέσον τῶν κελλίων —this detail is added from an unpublished 10th century MS. of the life in the library of Christ Church, Oxford,—Wake 67). It is to be noticed that Peter's intention was to settle himself and his tribe on the spot—only when Peter had done the work, Euthymius insisted on being left alone.

A.D. 428.—Eleven more join Euthymius, who establishes a Laura after the type of Fara. He gets Peter to build them small cells (scattered about the desert), and κοσμῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κόσμῳ παντί. Archbishop Juvenal consecrates the Church of the Laura on 7th May, 428 A.D.

Jan. 20th, 473 A.D.—St. Euthymius dies. The Deacon Fidus (of the Jerusalem Church) builds the Cemetery in the place of the cave where Euthymius first settled, "which cave he destroyed, and in only three months built a great and wonderful vaulted house, and in the middle made the grave of the Saint, and on each side the graves of abbots and priests and other holy men."

May 7th, 473 A.D.—Archbishop Anastasius transfers the relic of the Saint to this grave, and fixes the slab (which is brought down from Jerusalem) over it, with the surrounding κάγκελα, and a silver χώνη (funnel-shaped lamp or vase holding oil) fixed above the Saint's breast.

479-82 A.D.—Fidus, at last fulfilling the Saint's behest, converts the Laura into a Coenobium, destroying all the cells of the Laura from their foundations. With one *μηχανικὸς* and a crowd of craftsmen and much *ὑπουργία*, he built the Coenobium, walled it round, and fortified it. He turned the old Church into a Refectory, and built the new Church above it (*ὑπεράνωθεν*). Also he built a tower within the Coenobium, at once very strong and very beautiful (cf. the Qasr of the Nitrian Monasteries, etc.). And the Cemetery was already there (*συνέφθασε*) in the middle of the Coenobium. The Tower and the Gate-House projecting from the Monastery were on the side of the Plain (*i.e.* the North). Note the mention of the two great cisterns of the monastery being filled with sudden rain. Also note that St. Cyriac was sent at this time to procure *ἁπλώματα* (altar-cloths, veils, etc.) for the Church from Alexandria.

May 7th, 482 A.D.—Archbishop Martyrius consecrates the Church, laying under the altar relics of the martyrs, Tarachus, Probus and Andronicus.

659-60 A.D.—The Monastery of Abba Euthymius overthrown by an earthquake (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, IV.*, pp. 323-4.—Opuscules Maronites translated from the Syriac by Nau).

About 730-40 A.D.—Anastasius, hegoumen of St. Euthymius, in controversy with St. John of Damascus.

Late 8th Century.—The Monastery mentioned in life of St. Stephen the Sabaite, and in the account of the Martyrdom of the 20 Monks at Mar Saba.

About 1000 A.D.—St. Lazarus of the Galesian Mountain spends some time at St. Euthymius when in disgrace from Mar Saba.

About 1106 A.D.—Daniel the Russian describes the Monastery (note that his " all this has been destroyed by infidels " need only refer to St. Theoctistus).

1185 A.D.—John Phocas describes the Monastery " walled around with towers and great battlements. And in the middle of it stands the Church, it also having its roof barrel-vaulted (*κυλινδρωτήν*), and below it is a cave, and in the middle of it the Tomb of the Great Euthymius, like the monument of the God-bearing Saba, it also covered with white marble: in which also were laid up the relics of the Holy Fathers Passarion and Domitian."

1184-7 A.D.—The Iberian Monk-Priest Gabriel, grievously deceived by the devil at Mar Saba, comes to St. Euthymius and stays there till Salahuddin's conquest, when he flees to Mar Saba, but is captured by Arabs and carried off to Damascus.

Whether the Monastery was destroyed by Salahuddin or by Beibars, and whether the latest buildings, with pointed arches, are monastic or belong to some khan which may have replaced the monastery on Beibars' institution of the Nebi Musa pilgrimage, is not yet clear. A coin of En-Nasir Salahuddin, found on the floor of the courtyard between the Church and the Tomb, proves nothing.

The plan (Pl. I.) gives an idea of the general position of the ruins, between two shallow valleys which come together just south of the monastery, as described in the Life. It will be noted that on the hill to the East of the Monastery is a double-mouthed cistern of the ordinary desert type, with remains of an encircled Cross in the plaster on its Eastern wall. This instantly suggests the cistern made by Peter Aspebet in 427, and the fine grain-pit close by, with other more fragmentary remains, fit in with the placing of the bakery here. Clearly Aspebet's plan was to make his bedouin encampment on this Eastern hill, facing, but still just separate from, the Church and the Saint's cell (the Saint was a Priest) on the hill where the ruins of the Coenobium now stand. On this Eastern hill, then, was later made the garden of the Coenobium.

The great cistern (Pl. IV, 1) which occupies the valley between these two hills is of finer workmanship than any of the other ruins, and suggests labour belonging to the wider world. Possibly it is the work of Fidus—the vaulting of the Cemetery that he built, and of the vault under the Prothesis of the Church, is the only thing remaining that is comparable to it in the ruins. Otherwise we may conjecture that it dates from the later years of Justinian, after the writing of the Life, in which no mention seems to be made of it. It consists of two aisles, barrel-vaulted with fine large masonry, and separated from each other by an arcade of round arches. It has four orifices in the roof, and one at the North end of its Eastern aisle, through which a channel brought in the water from the plain to the north. But two other openings appear to be blocked at the ends: it is known to the Arabs as the Well of the Seven Mouths. This is identical with the Greek name, Ἑπτάστομος, of a cistern 1½ miles North of Mar Saba, and the Laura (probably the ruins now known as Khirbet Jinjis) which was founded near to it. The stones which now form the mouth of the deep well outside the North wall of the monastery were brought from the roof of the great cistern a generation ago.

After mentioning the foundations of a small watch-tower on the crest of the spur some 200 yards North of the Monastery, we may turn our attention to the main block of ruins. Their general plan answers very well to what we should expect from the Life—a Coenobium confined within a roughly rectangular surrounding wall. But at least on half the length of the Northern side, this wall was rebuilt in Mediaeval times, and the fine pointed arch of the doorway here has deceived the casual observer as to the ruins behind. Certain other remains within the ruins are clearly of the same date as this door, and it is not yet clear whether they are monastic or later.

Towards the South side of the ruins, the Church was clearly indicated before excavation began, by its three Apses on the Eastern retaining wall of the Monastery. And it was natural to identify the great vault underneath the Nave with the Refectory that replaced the original small Church of the Laura. Apart from this, the mass of half-filled and half-broken-down vaults was a somewhat confusing medley, but the fine vaulting of one chamber in the middle of the ruins guided us to what proved a true conjecture that here was the Cemetery of the Saint. This was further supported by the tradition among the villagers of Silwan, who now own the site, that this was the most holy place in the ruins.

Excavation in 1927 uncovered the East end of the Church, as far as the first piers. We also made a sounding which confirmed our suspicions in the Cemetery. In 1928 we uncovered the whole floor of the Church and the Cemetery vault, and most of the court between them. In 1929 we cleared most of the East wall of the Church, uncovered the floor of the vault under the Prothesis, and of the great vault under the Nave, and began to get some idea of the structures at the West front of the Church. We also cleared the small Sacristy next to the Prothesis, and that opening onto the South Aisle of the Church, and found a fragmentary mosaic floor outside the South wall of the Church at its Eastern end, slightly above the level of the Church floor. We also isolated the Cemetery block, opening up the proper entry to it by a staircase on the North side, revealing the corridor at the West front of the block, completing the clearing of the cistern head in the court between Cemetery and Church, and clearing the little Mediæval vault which fills the space between the Cemetery block and the buildings to the East. We also investigated under the floor of the Cemetery vault. Finally, in two short periods in 1930, we cleared the chapel on top of the Cemetery block, and made soundings to help to clarify the plan at the West front of the Church, on the South side of the ruins, and North of the Cemetery block.

We could not hope for much evidence as to the plan or architecture of the Laura, knowing that the cells had been destroyed to their foundations, and the Church replaced by a larger building over the top of it. But, once we knew the position of the Cemetery, we knew the position of the cave in which the Saint had first settled : and our investigations under its floor brought us to what was probably the ground-level in his day. Also, the later Church showed us where to look for the older one, and here foundations in the Central Vault, not in quite the same orientation as the vault itself, tempted us to the conjecture that we had found the outline of the N. West corner of the original little Church, the flagged floor of its Narthex, the foundations of its Western wall and of the partition wall between Church and Narthex. The plain mosaic found here probably dated from the use of the vault as the Refectory.

To the three months immediately following the Saint's death (473) belongs the building of the vaulted Cemetery. But this had continued to be used for burial in later times, and its original disposition had clearly been altered. To the same date as this vault we should like to assign the vault under the Prothesis. This latter is full of peculiarities. It is proved older than the Upper Church : its north wall lies beyond the outside of the Church wall built on top of it, and it once projected at least further East than the inner face of the East wall of the Church which now blocks it. Up to the level from which the vault springs, it was originally coated with a very great thickness of cement on a basis of potsherds, which is continued into the thickness of the Eastern wall (gaps being left where the cement has fallen away since this wall was built). The North wall of the vault was made with a view to this cement coating, and never properly faced. But the walls on its South and East sides seem to be older than the vault, showing a smooth face behind the cement, and being slightly out of alignment with the actual vault they support. It is to be noted that this difference in orientation is shared by these walls, the foundations in the floor of the central vault, the actual West wall of the Church, the cistern-head North of the Church, and the Cemetery-Vault, as against the actual vault under the Prothesis, the North, East, and South walls of the Church, and the South wall of the superstructure above the Cemetery-Vault.

But what was the actual vault under the Prothesis built for? The cement suggests that it was to hold water, but it is in a somewhat impossible position for a cistern. It is in a position in which Baptisteries have been found (*cf.* St. John Baptist's Church at Jerash), and it may be that this was once the purpose of our vault. But I confess that I am not myself satisfied with this suggestion. When the East wall was built, a square aperture was made through it about a metre above the level of the floor of the vault, and afterwards deepened by the removal of one more stone (on the floor of this passage we found an Umayyad coin). May the chamber have served as a granary? An excavation of the rest of the vault under the North aisle might help to clear the matter. At present we do not know whether there was any opening in the wall that separated the Chamber from the rest of the vault. At some period not before the building of the Eastern wall, two low partitions were built across the chamber from East to West, leaving a passage between them corresponding with the aperture in the East wall. At some period or other, at least the Northern trough thus formed was used for a tomb —we found in it the main bones of three skeletons, though no skulls; and the Crosses smoked on the roof of the vault above this Northern trough (and not elsewhere) may have some connection with this. Is it at all possible that this was also the original purpose of the vault? Might it be that Fidus did for Domitian as he did for Euthymius, and that this vault was his tomb replacing his cell? Again I am not satisfied with the suggestion, and the Life gives no evidence for it. But it would account for the similarity of the vaulting with that of the Cemetery of Euthymius.

Unless the West wall of the Church, with its slightly different alignment, be older, or along an older line, than the rest, we may take it that the main containing walls of the Church are of one date, subsequent in any case to the Vault under the Prothesis. There seems no strong reason against attributing them to the Coenobium Buildings of 479-82 A.D. The South-Eastern corner was strengthened by a square buttress. The range of buildings running South from this buttress is of later date. The small Sacristy projecting from further along the South wall may be original (the monk's stone-and-plaster bed along its Western side is probably later). That adjoining the Prothesis is also original—its East wall is continuous with that of the Church. Its West wall, both on the upper level and in the vaults, continues at right angles to the North wall of the Church from where this is stopped by the vault under the Prothesis. The wall separating it from the Church (from which it is entered down two steps), being built on the curve of the vault underneath, can never have been used to support any great burden, and we may suppose that the North wall of the Sacristy carried the main thrust of the Church at this point. A vault of the same type as those under the Church runs Northward from here, between walls which continue the line of the East and West walls of the Sacristy. Towards the North end of the ruins, it was once crossed by a round arch, possibly supporting a wall on the upper level. The inner gallery along the East side of the ruin, approached on its upper level down three steps from the Church, appears not to be as old as the walls of the Church, its Western wall being an extension of what was once just a buttress against the North wall of the Church. The vault on its lower level is not now open, but several blocked entries are to be seen. Just West of it, a square-headed doorway pierced the Church wall into the vault under the North Aisle.

Nothing else in the Church block can be proved as old as its containing walls, and much can be proved later. Several different restorations must be inferred. The point of first importance, which is not yet decided, is the date of the vaults: on this depends the date of the Aisle-mosaics above, which again is proved earlier than that of the piers dividing nave and aisles, and of the floor of the Nave, which is arranged to fit in with these piers.

The vaults are of unfaced stones, formerly stuccoed. They are parabolical in section. They are supported, to North and South, on walls added to the thickness of the containing walls, are not bonded into the East and West containing walls, and in fact show nothing to prove them contemporary with the original structure. Their relation to it might be cleared up by opening the door which we have mentioned as piercing the North wall of the Church into the Northern vault. Dogmatic statements as to the possible date of this type of vaulting are perhaps dangerous.

It is at least to be noted that the outline of all three vaults corresponds rather with the Apses and earlier structure of the Upper Church than with the later modification. The Mosaics in the N. and S. Aisles of the upper Church, which have been repaired in several different ways, especially on their inner edges (where they would be more trodden on), correspond properly with the position of the Apses, and show no correspondence in disposition with the piers, while the Pilasters along the N. and S. walls which correspond to these piers, actually cut into the pattern of the Mosaics. These pilasters are also proved later than the walls by remains of fresco on the walls passing behind them. The disposition of these piers and pilasters leaves the side-Apses in quite unsymmetrical relation with their aisles. This can be seen in the plan, where it is also to be noted that the pilasters marking the line of the piers, between the Apses, come far closer to the Central Apse than to the side Apses. A slight lack of symmetry would, however, be not unnatural here (especially in view of the step up from Prothesis and Diakonikon to the Altar space), but, quite apart from the definite proof of later date in the side pilasters, the actual lack of symmetry is excessive.

Piecing together the fallen masonry, we were forced to the conclusion that these square piers had supported a stone-vaulted roof, with a dome on pendentives over the bay in front of the Sanctuary. This bay alone is within 7cm. of forming a perfect square, and in the great stones fallen upon its floor we pieced together what could only be the springing of two of the pendentives. A few much-worn remains of columns scattered about the ruins strengthened the supposition that originally the Church was a plain wooden-roofed Basilica supported on round columns, with the Nave distinctly wider, and the Mosaics and Apses of the Aisles in a truer symmetry. It is to be remembered, however, that if (as we have seen to be probable) the side-vaults are not as old as the walls of the Church, even this disposition, in the form of which we find remains, would not go back to 482. Later again, perhaps after the earthquake of 659-60, the Church required rebuilding. But wood was by now too scarce. On the other hand, the span of the Nave was too great for a stone vault. Therefore the square piers (with pilasters corresponding to them along the sides of the Church) were built closer in towards the line of the Central Apse, thus narrowing the span requiring to be vaulted, widening the aisles and distorting their symmetry and transforming the Church into a Domed Basilica. The floor of the Nave was laid in exact correspondence with the piers of this rebuilding, and is therefore later than the Mosaics of the Aisles. The space under the Dome is inlaid with a pattern in various colours of stone and marble. The next bay westwards is floored with a mosaic pattern in large tesserae, whose general design only recalls the small-tessera mosaics of the aisles in the six-leaved pattern at its centre. Now it is important that the mosaic floor outside the South wall of the Church at its eastern end has a pattern in large tesserae of just this type (in this case a six-pointed star), and is supported, as we found in 1930, on a stuccoed vault of unfaced stones (the vault is parallel to the Church), exactly similar in type to the Central Vault, and proved to be later than the S.East Buttress of the Church, against which it is built. Now, are these two floors of the same age as the vaults which support them ? If so we must conclude that the Central Vault is of later date than the Aisle-Vaults. At least at first sight they appear of exactly the same type as each other. But this type, once discovered, may well persist unchanged for centuries, so that a difference of date is not impossible. And on the whole it is more natural to connect the rebuilding with a collapse in which the central vault was broken in, while the side vaults and their mosaics more or less escaped injury, than with a mere repairing of the floor on top of an undisturbed vault.

Even before the transformation into a domed basilica, the walls of the aisles were frescoed. But the frescoes we uncovered on the pilasters belong to a later age. Their affinities with those on the columns at Bethlehem (we note especially a warrior with a shield which reminds us of the Bayeux Tapestry) give us the clue to their date, and suggest that Manuel Comnenus, who is known to have restored the Church of St. John Baptist by Jordan after an earthquake, may have restored our Church also. It is peculiar to notice that the edge of the frescoes on pier and pilaster immediately in front of the Diakonikon indicated that when they were painted, some kind of partition crossed the South Aisle at this point, in front of the Chancel Step. The remains of a rough wall, apparently faced only along its South side, along the line of the N. side of the piers, rather suggest a retaining wall to hold back a mountain of débris, and keep the surviving South aisle clear, after the rest of the Church had collapsed. On one of the piers two stages of fresco can be traced, one independent of this rough wall, one actually continued from the pier on to it.

The plan will give a general idea of the arrangement of the Chancel. One step leads up from the general level of the Church to that of the Prothesis and Diakonikon, and a further step to that of the central Altar-space. In both Prothesis and Diakonikon we find a panel, about six feet square, of small-tessera mosaic : we may suppose them contemporary with those of the aisles, though the patterns might be suggestive of older types. In the Prothesis, this panel is pushed slightly west of the centre to make room for the three-legged table of the Prothesis, between the stumps of whose legs is a Cross in small mosaic—in the only position in the floor of the Church where it would be safe from being trodden on. The Altar-space, like the Western bay of the Nave, is floored in a sort of red cement—perhaps this would have been covered with carpets. The rectangular base of the Altar, with a square cement-filled gap in the back—clearly for relics—may well be original. We found the head of one leg of the Altar-table, an alabaster fragment from the table-edge on which was inscribed [ΦΙ]ΛΟCΟΦΙΑC (a very similar inscribed fragment of Altar-edge was found in the excavation of the Church of St. Etienne at Jerusalem (see Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem*, p. 798, pl. LXXIX, 7)), and fragments of a small spiral-fluted column which probably belonged to the Ciborium. The N. and S. edges of the Altar-space are out of the main alignment of the Church, and here probably the original arrangement has been disturbed. A slot for the Chancel-screen, terminating in square posts, once ran along the front of the Altar-space, but we found no such slot in front of the side-apses, nor (where the Jerash excavations might lead us to expect them) on the step from these to the Altar-space. Also, the slot where it remained had been filled up with cement, and the stones containing it had in some cases been replaced with plain stones. We found no trace of an Ambon. Clearly before the end the old marble screen with its ball-headed posts (of both of which we found considerable remains scattered about the ruins) had given way to a high wooden Ikonostasis of the mediæval type. Before leaving the structure of the Church, we would call attention to the stone laid against the E. side of the S.W. pier of the dome. It is of equal width with the pier, so that it serves to prolong its N. and S. faces Eastwards, and the fresco on the S. face of the pier is continued on to it without a break. What kind of structure it once supported, or how high that structure rose, we do not know. It does not appear to be early. In the débris at the S.E. corner of the dome, we discovered many fragments of traceried cement window-frame, containing pieces of glass inserted before the cement was dry.

In regard to the art of the Mosaics, little can be added to what has already appeared in these pages, until they are fully published. Dr. Hankin, in his extremely interesting letter in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1929, supports us in claiming for them a comparatively early date, and in pointing out general affinities with the Jerash mosaics. These are closest, if I remember rightly, with the patterns of the Procopius Church, and the differences are just such as one might expect between city and monastic work—the one running riot with repetitions and variations, the latter more meditatively reserving a single unrepeated pattern for each panel. In this I have to differ slightly from Dr. Hankin—who states that he is writing from memory. Closer inspection of the patterns reveals far greater cohesion in design than may at first appear. *E.g.*, the irregular octagon which he criticizes (p. 100 (5)) is the necessary result of the design—not a mere drawing of octagons within the squares, but a development from the superposing of a square lattice (with spaces alternately wide and narrow) on a diamond lattice. And the ten-pointed star is not as he draws it (Fig. 3), simply one pentagram on top of another, but is drawn with a single line—a development, not a mere reduplication of the idea of the pentagram.

The originality and cohesion in design of the Euthymius Mosaics is best brought out by a comparison with some panels preserved in an exactly similar position in the N. Aisle of the Church (which, like ours, is supported on undercrofts) of the Monastery of St. Gerasimus in the Jordan Plain. The disposition of these mosaics is so similar, and their actual designs so unintelligently lacking in cohesion, as to suggest that they are actually a bad imitation of the Euthymius Mosaics. Unfortunately I have no photographs or drawings of the Gerasimus patterns, having only had one hurried and undesigned sight of them in August, 1928—and August is not the season for exploration in the Jordan Plain. As to our own mosaics, we may admit that the animal designs are extremely crude when compared with those of Jerash or Beisan. But in a desert monastery we should expect greater crudity, and it may not prove a later date. For the rest, it is satisfactory to note that both the centre-piece under the dome, in which Dr. Hankin sees some possibility of Saracenic influence, and the pattern in which he points out a singularly crude use of the compass, are from the Nave, and thus known to be of later date than the Aisle Mosaics.

The complete plan of the buildings at the W. Front of the Church —a platform or a Narthex supported on vaults—is not yet clear, but a general idea can be gained. Opposite the S. Aisle, a vault similar to those under the Church ran Westward for one bay, then was blocked by a wall. Between it and the door into the Central Vault, a much narrower vault of the same type ran Westward for two bays, then was blocked by a very solid wall which is continued Northward to correspond in length and position with the Nave of the Church. The N. wall of this narrow vault, which appears to be pierced by two doors, continues the line of the S. side of the doorway into the Central Vault. North of it ran three bays of vaulting, the first corresponding to the remainder of the Nave, the second to the N. Aisle (these two were continued Westward for a second bay), the third extending North of the line of the Church, clearly to support the approach to the Tomb-block. The two bays next to the Church were opened on their Western side, apparently with round arches of well-faced masonry: and similar fine round arches may have separated them from each other and from the third bay. These bays were square in plan: each was cross-vaulted, with the necessary result that the vaulting (which was unfaced as usual) was pointed in section above the round arches. The two bays outside this (the southern blocked on S. and W. by a wall, the northern supported on four arches) appear originally to have been similar, but later the Southern bay appears to have been rebuilt, rather crudely, on a narrower plan. The bay which extends the inner line Northward is alone preserved nearly complete. It is blocked by a wall on N., W., and E., and the vaulting (there being no need for a cross-vault) is of hammer-head plan. The actual arch with which it opened to the South is unfortunately not preserved.

The connection of fine round arches with unfaced cross-vaulting, pointed in section at the sides (arches and vaulting are definitely contemporary) may be important evidence for the development of the pointed arch, and of this type of unfaced vaulting. A precisely similar phenomenon is found in three bays of vaulting hidden behind the N. wall of the fine barrel-vaulted Crypt of the Church in the Shepherds' Fields by Bethlehem—a ruin in which excavation might reveal many other points for comparison with our monastery.

The Western end of the court between Church and Cemetery, separated by a low round arch (subsequently propped up by a wall at its Northern end) from the rest of the court, contains a cemented tank in its S. West corner, a sort of basin (in which a broken lamp of the last age of the Monastery was found) projecting from its Western wall, and the mouth (laid on top of an older mouth in different orientation) of a cistern which occupies the space under the court as far as a bad late broken-down wall which runs out from the Church towards the S.E. corner of the Tomb-Block. The passage East of this wall is on a lower level, that of the floor of the vaults under the Church. (It leads from the door in the wall of the North vault, through the late vault along the East side of the Tomb-block, to the Northern approaches to the Tomb). A water-channel used to lead to this cistern from the N. West, passing through a gap in the West wall of the court, over which it seems that the stairway passed down from the platform in front of the Church to the Corridor at the West front of the Tomb-block.

The Tomb-Block itself consists of :—

A.—the actual Cemetery, a fine barrel-vault running North and South, its roof level with the floor of the Cistern-Court, from which it is lit by a slanting window. It is entered, by a square-headed doorway at the East end of its Northern side, from a staircase which was roofed over) running down from

B.—the Corridor at the West front of the block. This was on the level of the floor of the Church vaults. At its Southern end a staircase ran up to the platform in front of the Church. At its Northern end, a square doorway opened on to a passage leading from a staircase that runs down from the upper level of the buildings along the Eastern side of the Monastery. This Corridor had been cross-vaulted, probably at a late date. A door, out of symmetry with this vaulting, and with no trace of the steps that must have led up to it, opened on to the Corridor from

C.—a chamber with a shallow apse at its East end, over the roof of the Cemetery, and probably not as old as the Cemetery itself, but with walls comparable to those of the Church, and definitely older than D., a vault with no proper floor, entered through pointed doors to North and South, which fills the space between the Tomb-block and the Eastern range of buildings, and is obviously contemporary with the pointed gateway in the North wall of the ruins.

The Cemetery[1] had clearly been in use over a long period. As we found it, it had remains of a small Altar against its Eastern wall, but a fresco on the wall behind the structure of the Altar proved the latter not to have been original. There were also niches for "Prothesis and Diakonikon," the former at the mouth of a small round-vaulted tomb, with a ledge for a body on each side of a passage, the latter over the head of a single grave in the thickness of the wall. But the masonry showed that these niches also were cut out of the wall of the vault subsequently to its erection. The floor of the chamber as we found it was of rough flags. The bottom of the fragments of fresco at one corner of the wall seemed to pass below its level, and the extent to which it had been constantly relaid was further indicated when, turning up a loose flag, we found it to be a fragment of chancel-screen with its carved side turned down. The middle of the floor was destroyed. Opening it up, we found in the very middle of the Chamber a rough empty grave which seemed clearly to be that of the Saint himself, its precious contents removed for safety before the monks abandoned the Monastery. Between this and the Altar (whose solid cement foundation must surely go back fairly early), a pit descending to the old earth-level (rather under a foot lower than the floor of the Saint's Grave, which was clearly laid upon it) contained three whole lamps, and many fragments, of types attributable to the sixth century. One of these had ANACTACIC stamped on its under side. Two other broken ones had Cross-handles. In this pit also were fragmentary small bones from something like fifteen different human bodies, ten of them apparently children. We do not understand this. Were they relics from some unrecorded massacre? North of this pit, in a grave which we examined without unroofing it, were seven skeletons, three of them in position, the rest returned in no special order to the grave after being moved to allow of the new interments. The condition of the bones appeared to imply that they belonged to the early ages of the Monastery. The rest of the floor we left undisturbed. No doubt it covers other similar interments. Six rectangular holes, three on each side, in the roof of the vault, at least in some cases subsequently filled up, appear once to have been for windows. If so, this is proof that the upper chamber (C.) is not original.

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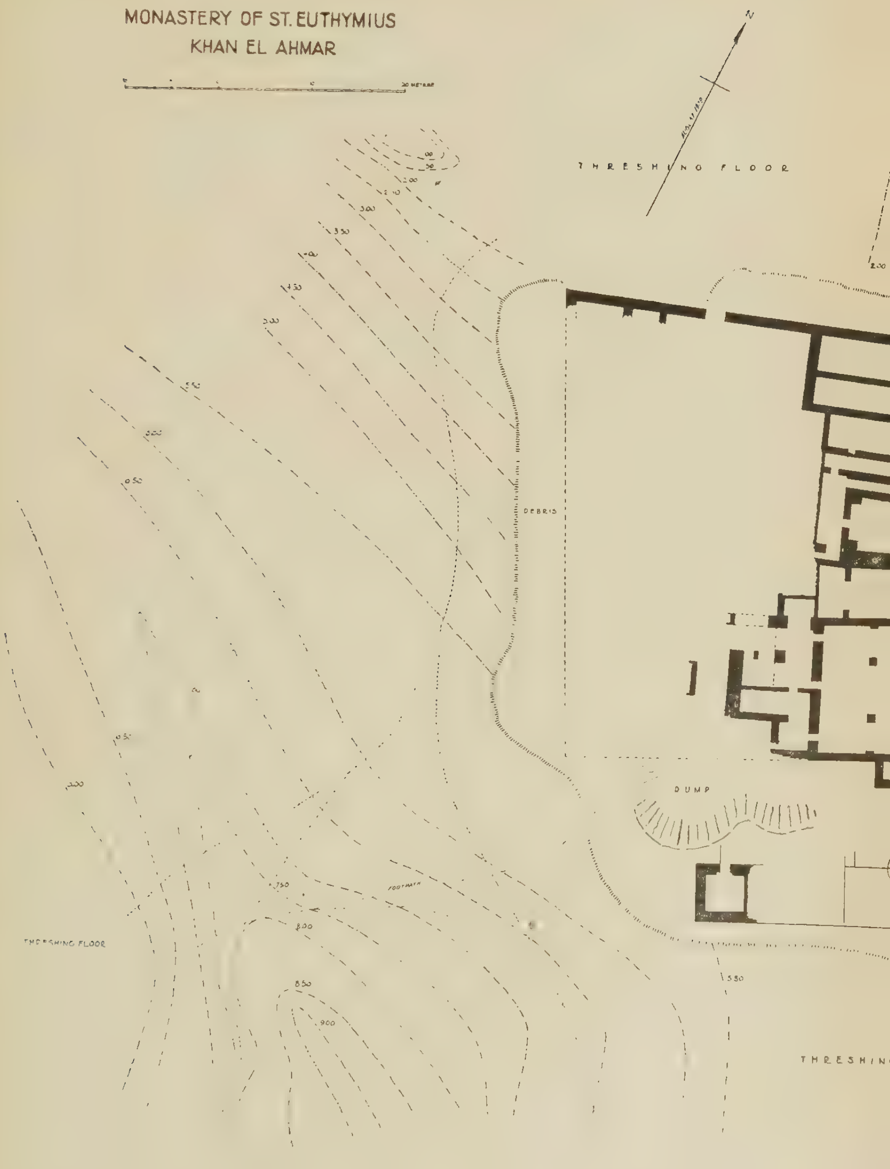
[1] Pls. VI, 2, VII, 1.

As we found it, this latter was (apart from its apse) a square chamber with piers in its corners implying a Cross-vaulted roof. This makes it fairly evident that the large broken four-faced stone Cross (with a socket for a metal Cross on top), which we found close by here, was the coping-stone of this vault—proclaiming in all four directions that it crowned the edifice immediately above the Saint's body. As we found it, this chamber had nothing but a plaster floor. The floor of the apse appeared to have been on a higher level, but here the fact that a wall appeared at sometime to have been raised across the front of the apse, obscured the original arrangement. At some late time, also, the N. East and S. East piers had been strengthened by square blocks of masonry against their Western faces. We found a multitude of cubes of wall-mosaic on the floor at the South side of the Chamber, and, North of the S. West pier, very nearly enough fragments of fresco (including an inscription) for us to piece together into an intelligible pattern.

This, I think, covers the main results of our researches up to the present. If we have failed, so far, to come to many conclusions as to the dates of the surviving ruins, we have at least confirmed many details given us in the Life, and we have had a salutary, if archæologically somewhat disconcerting, reminder, that Greek monasteries did not lose their vitality with the Arab conquest, even in matters of building. The completion of the excavation of our Monastery would be valuable, but owing to the destructive nature

Palestine Exploration Fund.


MONASTERY OF ST. EUTHYMIUS
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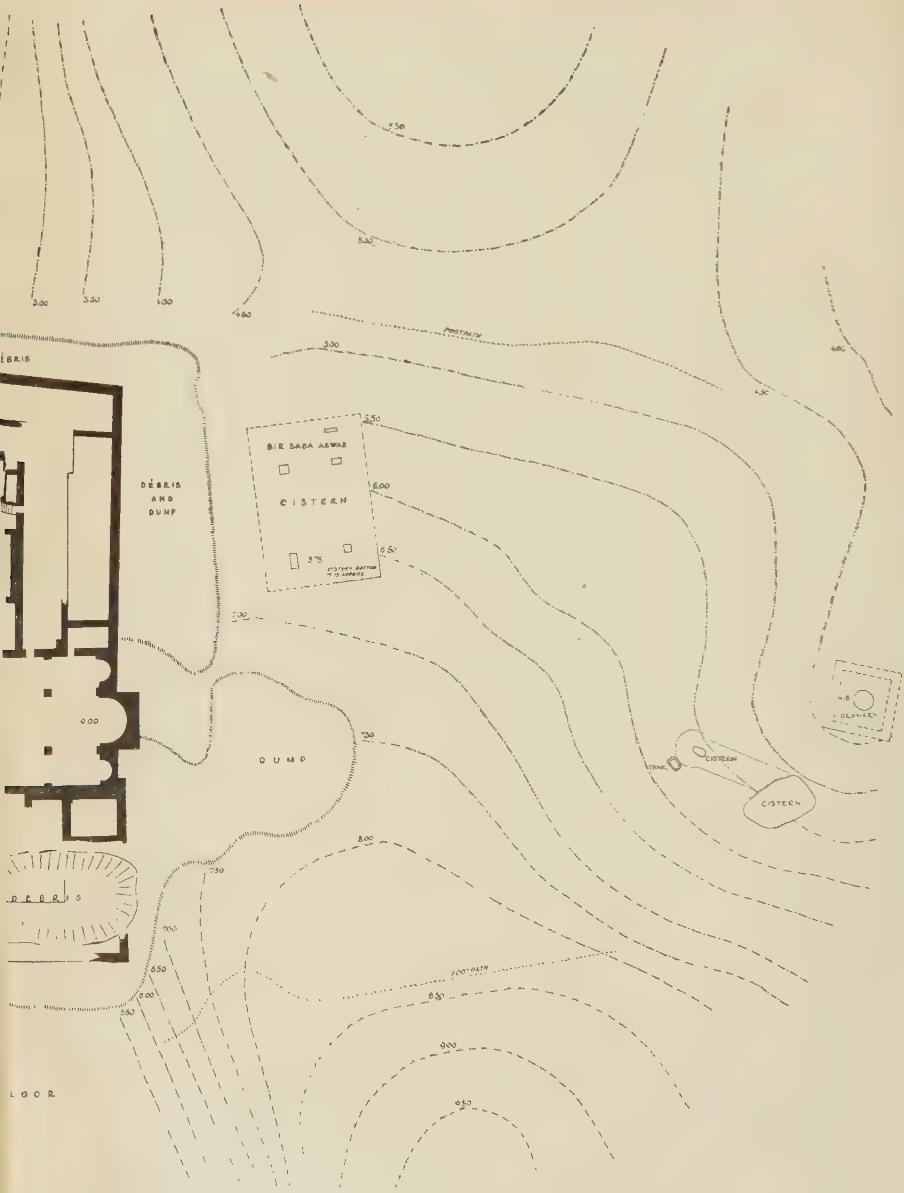
GENERAL PLAN O

Plate I.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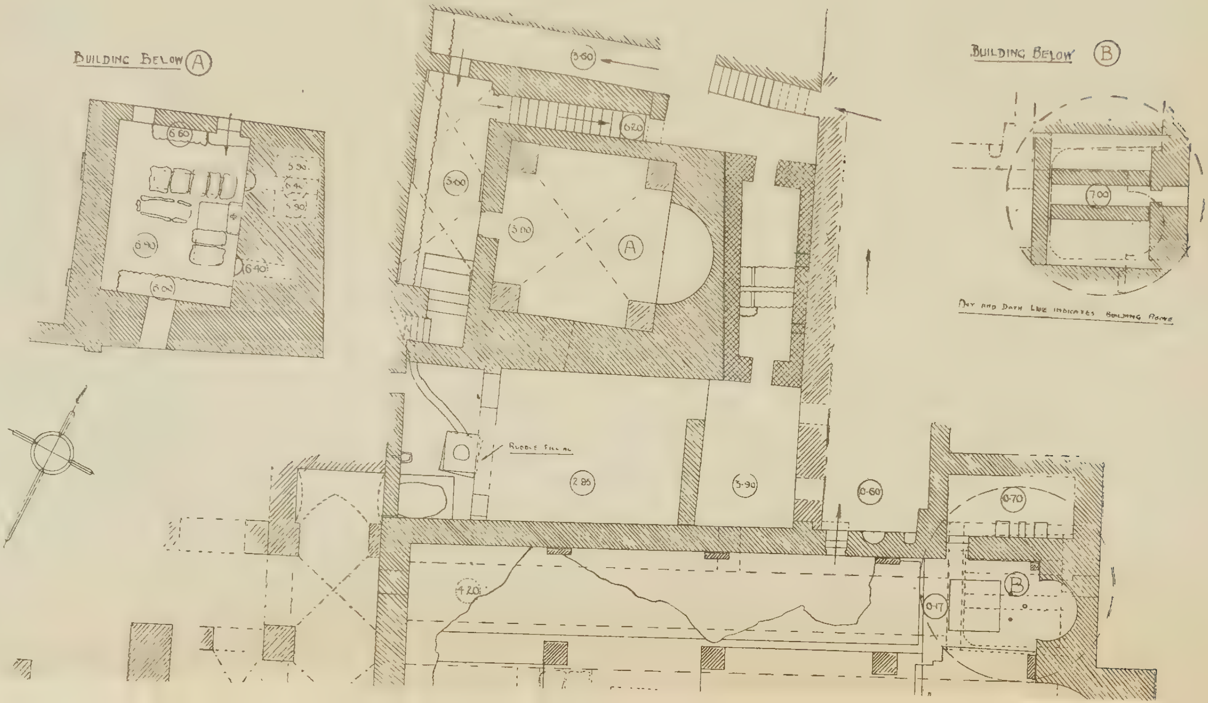
HE EXCAVATIONS.

MONASTERY of ST. EUTHYMIUS - KHAN EL AHMAR.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(A)
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(B)
BUILDING BELOW (B)
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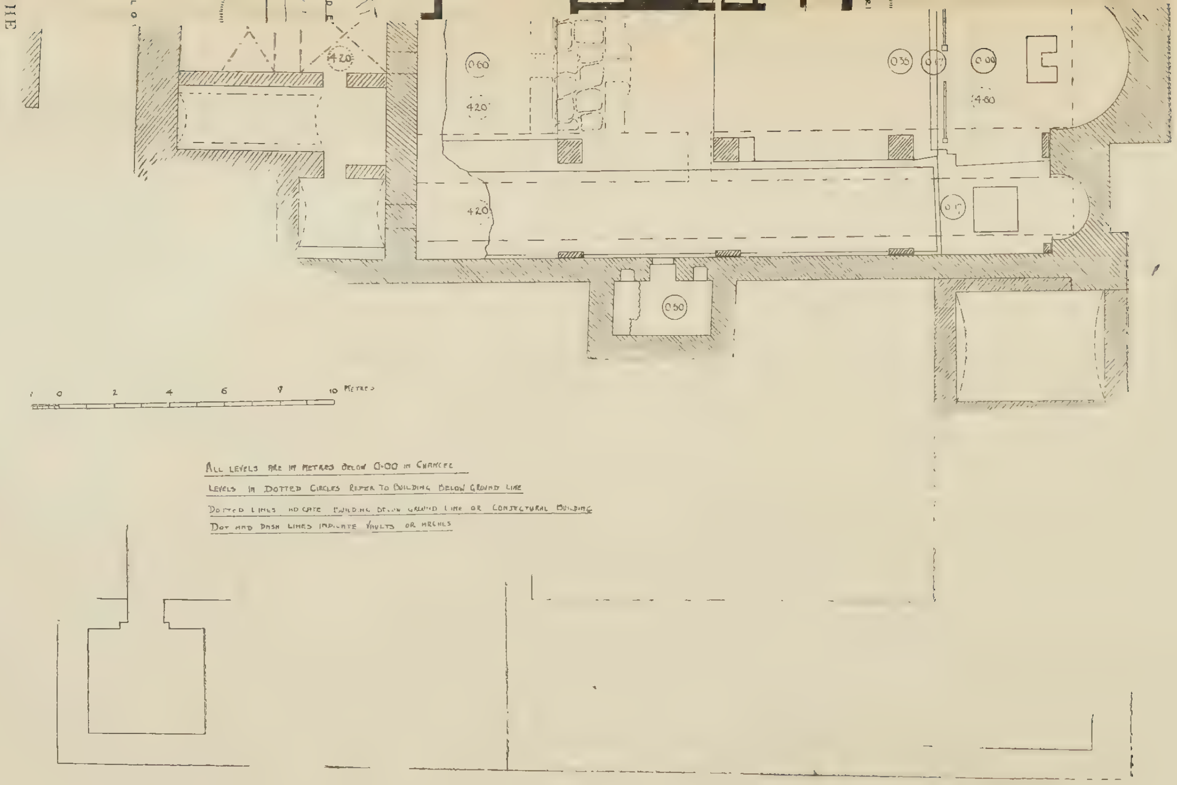
DOT AND DASH LINE INDICATES BUILDING ABOVE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DOTTED LINES INDICATE BUILDING BELOW GROUND LINE OR CONJECTURAL BUILDING
DOT AND DASH LINES INDICATE VAULTS OR ARCHES

Plan of the excavated buildings at Khan el-Ahmar.

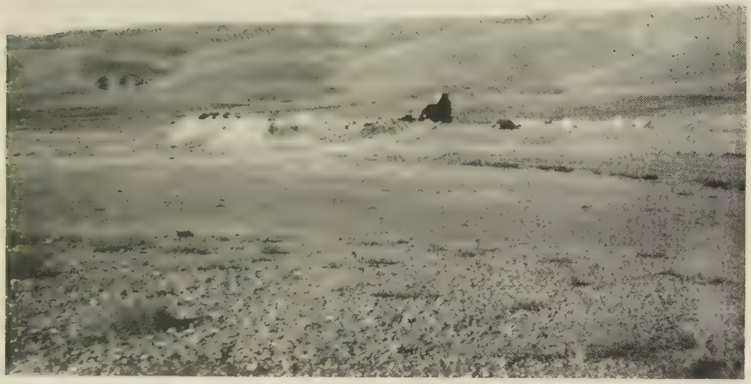


FIG. 1.—KHAN EL-AHMAR FROM THE NORTH-EAST WITH THE CHURCH ON THE LEFT-HAND CORNER OF THE VIEW.

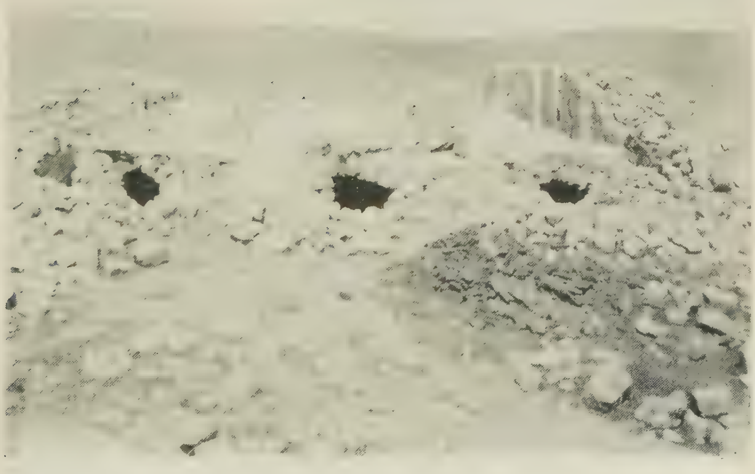


FIG. 2.—THE CHURCH FROM THE WEST, SHOWING VAULTS (THE CHURCH FLOOR CLEARED, THE VAULTS NOT EXCAVATED).

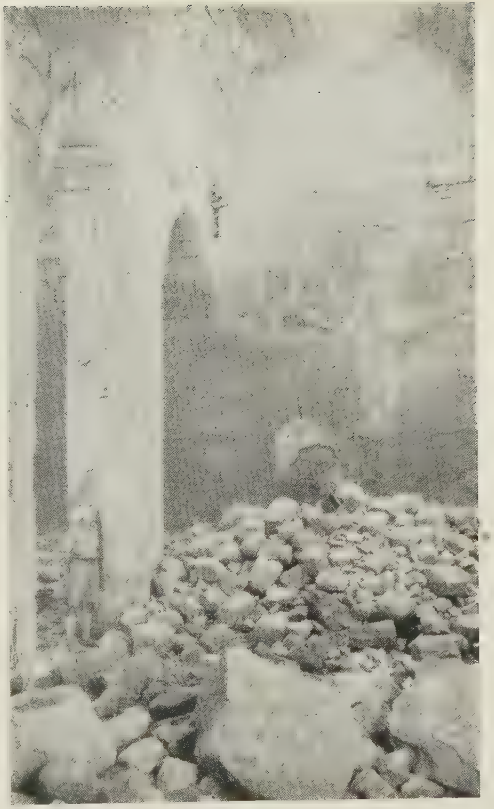


FIG. 1.—WEST AISLE OF GREAT CISTERN.

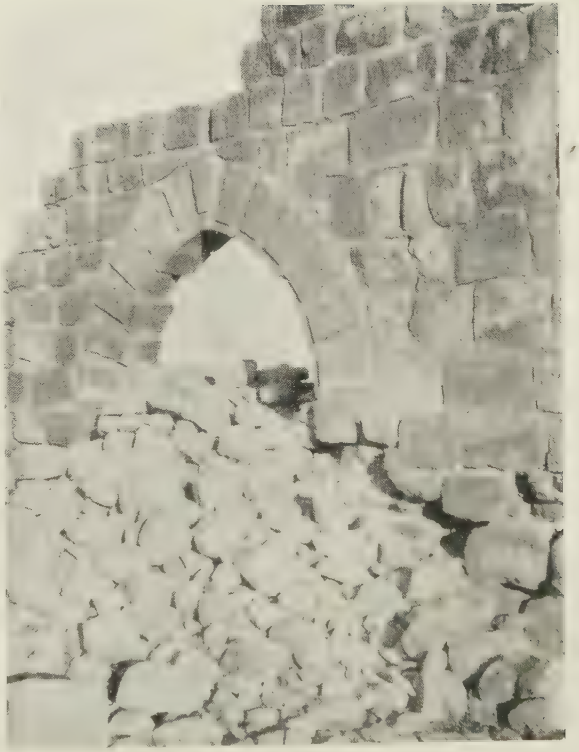


FIG. 2.—MEDIEVAL ARCH IN NORTH WALL OF RUINS.

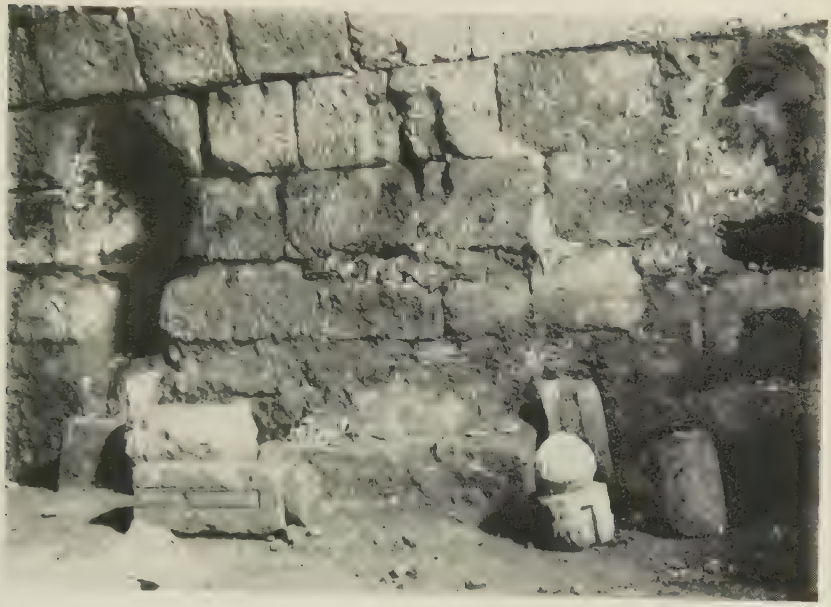


Fig. 1.—Altar and niches of cemetery, with fragments of posts, etc.

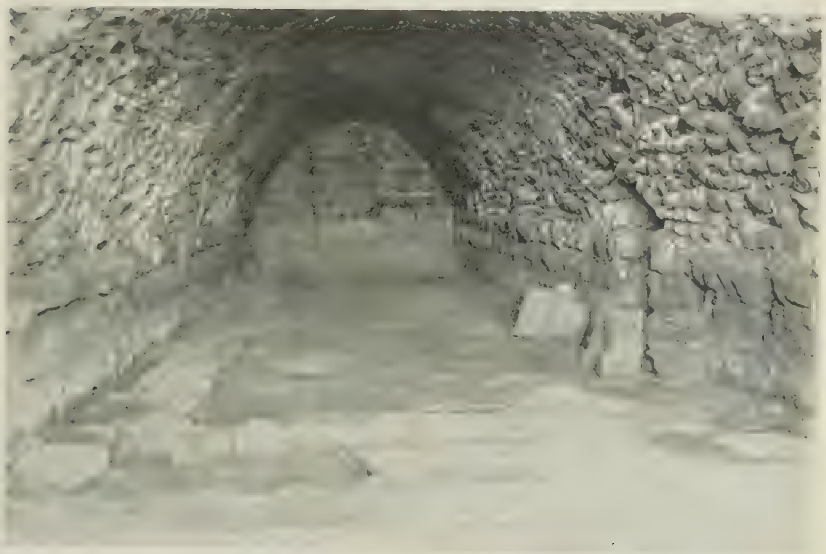


Fig. 2.—Central vault, showing older foundations in foreground.

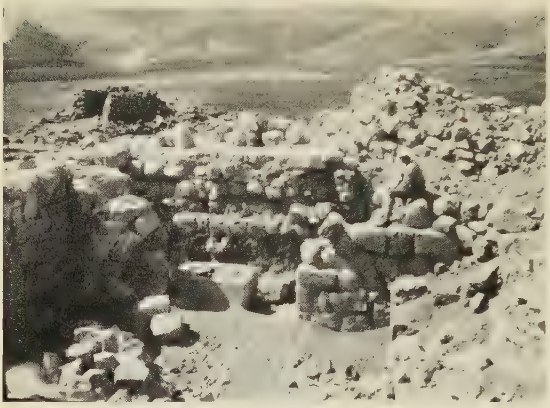


FIG. 1.—BROKEN ARCH OF CISTERN-HEAD IN COURT BETWEEN CHURCH AND CEMETERY. FROM THE EAST.

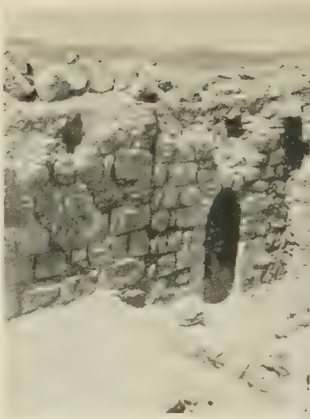


FIG. 2.—ARCH OF LATE VAULT, EAST OF CEMETERY BLOCK (SHOWING SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF THE LATTER).

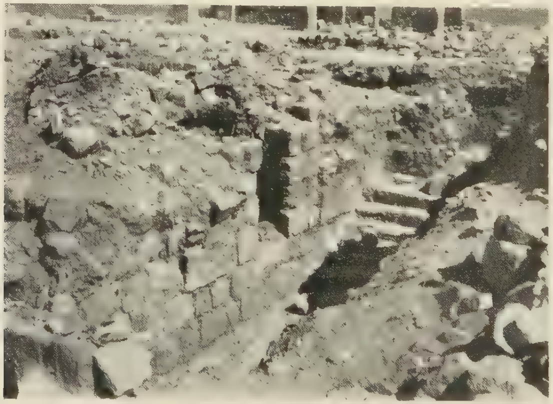


FIG. 3.—WEST FRONT OF CEMETERY BLOCK.

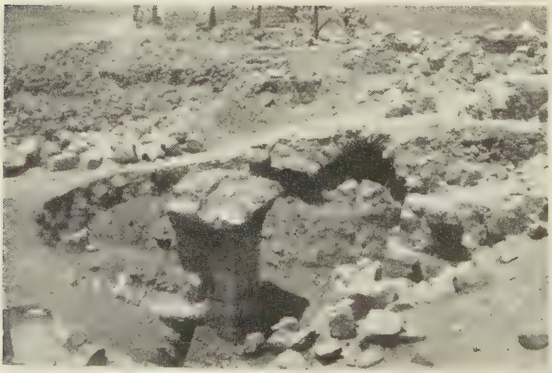


FIG. 4.—RUINS AT WEST FRONT OF CHURCH (VIEWED FROM THE SOUTH-EAST).

of the Arab, the only really satisfactory solution here would be in the restoration of the ruin to its proper use. Meanwhile, perhaps as much might be learnt towards the clearing up of our problems from the excavation of other sites whose "floruit" covered a less extended period. We should then have better criteria for judgment when we returned to St. Euthymius.

One detail from the Life is not yet explained—that is the tower towards the North side of the Coenobium. Possibly it was where the mediæval wall now stands. Personally I suspect rather that excavation would reveal its foundations towards the N.E. corner of the ruins. But I can feel no certainty here.

I would give a warning against expecting that small finds belong near where they are found. Three fragments of chancel-screen which actually fitted together (though we found no other fragments of the same pattern) were found each in a different year, and each in a completely different part of the ruins. Again, a fragment of inscription in marble, found in the débris outside the East wall of the Church, proved to fit on to two other fragments which had been plastered over and used as a ledge in a peculiar niche in the mediæval vault East of the Tomb-block.

The planning and the main work of the excavation has really been done by my colleagues—Mr. and Mrs. A. H. M. Jones, Lieut.-Comdr. Buchanan, Mr. Michael Markoff, and Mr. C. N. Johns. In thanking Père Barrois for his help in the Cemetery and elsewhere, I should express something of the gratitude I owe to the whole community of the Ecole Biblique, both for their constant ungrudging hospitality which other members of the British School have shared, and for my first grounding in the study of Judæan Monasticism.

TELL EN-NASBEH.

By John P. Naish, D.D.

This site, about seven miles N. of Jerusalem, was excavated by the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley University, California, during the years 1926-29. The director of the work has been Prof. W. F. Badè, assisted by a small permanent staff, including Mrs. Badè, and a good deal of occasional help from visiting archæologists and from the American missionaries at Ramallah close by, where the expedition had its home in the Boys' School of the Friends' Mission during the season of 1926. Dr. Badè had previously prepared himself for work in Palestine by studying similar excavational operations in process at Pecos, in New Mexico, and by examining the plans and methods there employed in the Museum at Santa Fé, during the autumn of 1925. These excavations had been conducted on the basis of "an ingenious and careful method of sequence-dating based on pottery and other human artefacts," which corresponded to that developed long since by Palestinian excavators following Sir Flinders Petrie's original work on the southern *tells* in the Shephelah. Prof. Badè had further invaluable help during his first two seasons in Palestine from that well-known excavator, Dr. C. S. Fisher, who was in the country for the University of Chicago, and also from Dr. (now Professor) Albright and Prof. Garstang, who were respectively Director of the American School and Government Director of Antiquities at that time.

After arranging to lease the mound for two years, a control map of the area, laid out in 50-metre squares, was prepared by a competent American surveyor. Dr. Badè then made use of an air-map, taken during the War by the German authorities, with which he was generously furnished on application to Prof. Dalman in Berlin. It is well known that such maps often reveal the presence of structures just beneath the surface which are not otherwise observable, not only showing differences in the surface vegetation, but also making "prominent the gentle contours that have resulted from the settling of débris over unyielding structures." In this case an examination of the German photograph enabled the excavators to strike the corner of the city wall half an hour after they had begun digging. This wall appears to belong to the Middle Bronze Period, 2000 to 1500 B.C., that is, from the time of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt, contemporaneous with the great period of centralisation in Babylonia, onwards to the conquest and colonisation of Palestine by the Egyptians under Thothmes III just after 1500 B.C. The evidence thus accords with what we know from many other diggings, namely, that this period was one of high culture in Palestine, a culture which, reaching its zenith then, had begun some 500 years earlier.

The great wall, flanked by numerous buttress-towers with strong revetments at their feet, is not less than 20 feet wide all along, whilst at one point, where the base-rock is lowest, the existing structure is still forty feet high. Within it, about twenty feet away, are traces of a much slighter wall parallel to it. This seems to have been the protecting fortification of an earlier and smaller city on the same site, which is attributed with much probability to the immediately preceding Early Bronze Period. Between the two walls on the S.E. corner of the site there were discovered three rock tombs, apparently of pre-Semitic construction, which date at any rate from before the building of the great wall, and seem to have been rifled during the Middle Bronze Age. These tombs yielded a quantity of broken human remains and fragments of pottery, all of which had been disturbed and turned over and over by persons searching for valuables, presumably in the period 2000-1500 B.C. A gold ring and a large gold bead, with a number of carnelian beads, were the only objects of importance that had been missed by the tomb-robbers, excluding, of course, pottery fragments, which they disregarded.

Before the Israelite period, 1000-586 B.C. (Iron Ages I and II) it appears that the great walls had been partially destroyed, for the Israelite fortifications were raised on their remains. Certain of the additions were found to have fragments of Iron Age pottery in the clay between the stones, and this evidence would tend to fit in with the account in 1 Kings xv, 22, where we are told that Asa " built " Mizpah with stones and timber brought from Ramah (supposedly the modern Er-Rām) close by. A number of cisterns and a most interesting sanctuary seem to belong to this period. The sanctuary is of the usual oblong form with a transverse room occupying the whole breadth at the S.E. end, and three long narrow rooms side by side longitudinally forming the remainder. The foundations of the old inner wall run right through the middle of the sanctuary from end to end, and in the middle of this line of stones is what seems to be the broken base of a pedestal or perhaps a maẕẕebah. To the N.E. of this temple is the sacrificial area, with the usual cup-holes, as noted at Gezer and in many other places, and remnants of three small stone-built lavers or water tanks, similar to those employed in mosques, and perhaps serving the same purpose as the bronze *kiyyōrōth* cast by Hiram for the temple in Jerusalem, 1 Kings vii, 38 *ff*.

The cisterns have aroused special interest because of the suggestion that one of them, which contains pottery fragments of the period just preceding 586 B.C., and nothing demonstrably later, may be the very place into which the assassins of Gedaliah and his supporters threw their bodies, as recorded by the writer of Jer. xli, 7. But the temple, which seems to have been dedicated to the worship of Astarte—for terra-cotta models of a dove, a lamp nested in the three-branched fork of a tree, and a broken torso of the goddess herself, were unearthed there—is really the most significant find from the point of view of those interested in Hebrew religion. It is obviously to be dated 900-700 B.C., between the time of Rehoboam and that of the great prophets.

That the site is actually that of the Biblical Mizpah seems certain, since the discovery not only of a jar-handle with the three letters M Ẕ P, but of the agate seal of Jaazaniah, an officer of King Zedekiah mentioned in the book of Jeremiah, as reported in the July number of the *Q.S.* This Mizpah was, of course, the headquarters of the Neo-Babylonian government after the final sack of Jerusalem. The city was clearly important throughout the monarchic period. Mr. Garrow Duncan remarks :—" Examination of the ground has revealed the fact that the town spread outside of the walls, and the broad level terraces of the southern and eastern flanks of the mound had been covered with suburban dwellings of the Hebrew period, dating from 1100 to 600 and later." The site continued in occupation until the Byzantine Empire fell before the Muhammadans, if we may judge from the presence of Byzantine coins in the uppermost levels. It was certainly a centre of population through the Maccabean and Roman periods. Hellenistic coins were found, together with fragments in cisterns and silos belonging to this era, and Roman antiquities were uncovered " in considerable abundance around a tower at the north end of the Tell," where a Roman military force seems to have been stationed at one time.

The total area of the city was about eight acres. A part of the northern wall was traced in 1929, after the excavations of 1926-27 had been filled in again at the end of the latter year. The W. and E. walls have not been fully investigated as yet. Further finds in 1929 included a vaulted passage in one side of the mound, with fourteen stone steps leading down to a cistern hewn in the rock and carefully covered with flat stones. This passage has not been fully cleaned out, but there can be little doubt that it is a water tunnel containing the supply used by the townsmen during sieges, and similar to the elaborate underground water-supplies unearthed by Prof. Macalister at Gezer and more recently by Mr. Guy at Megiddo, as described by him at the Orientalists' Congress in Leyden in September of last year. The southern gate seems to have been in the centre of the S. wall, high up in that structure, masked by a thickening of the wall which projected so as to cover it, and to have led on to a raised path on a ridge running S.E. past the spring now called 'Ain Nasbeh, which would have been the ordinary water-supply in times of peace.

One of the most interesting features of the Tell en-Nasbeh excavation, however, was the discovery in 1929 of the city necropolis. In previous seasons Dr. Badè had searched vainly for this. But in 1929, " on the westward slope of a rocky ridge, a few minutes north of the Tell, I observed one morning, as I was facing the sun, a crescent-shaped shadow on a patch of exposed bedrock. Thinking that the depression might prove to be the weathered upper portion of the entrance façade of a tomb, I took some workmen to the place. Removal of the soil soon brought to light a shallow forecourt chiselled out of the limestone, and at its east end a low façade with its small portal, whose upright door-stone was still in place." This tomb proved to be one of several, as at Rās Shamra and elsewhere, and they were to some extent models of actual dwellings, the bodies being placed at full length in niches on raised stone benches. Each of the tombs was full of mud when found, this having seeped in year after year through the joints of the doors. When cleared they yielded a very interesting series of lamps and black juglets, and also three excellent scarabs, which appear to be imported and of genuine Egyptian workmanship, though the hieroglyphs are probably conventional in design and apotropaic in intention, rather than actual inscriptions designed to convey a meaning. Two of these tombs are probably of the earlier classical Hebrew period, 1100-900 B.C., but a third, of different pattern and more elaborate construction, contained a bronze coin of Herod Archelaus, and would, therefore, seem to be a Græco-Roman tomb of the 1st century A.D. This tomb contained also a Roman lamp, a button seal with a curious design of a long-eared beast halted by a human figure with upraised arm (Balaam's ass and the angel ? !), a bracelet, and a number of glass beads. The whole reminds us of the similar Roman burials recently found by Mr. Fitzgerald at Beth Shan, where these were again in close contiguity to, and even impinging on, tombs of a thousand years' earlier date.

The excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh have already added another complete Biblical city to those of which we had previous knowledge. The operations were conducted with all the skill which long experience has taught. Once more we find on a single site the series of cities from about 2500 B.C. onwards, on which we have come to look as typical. Again, too, the great periods of the site, when its culture and activities were at their highest, are the Middle and Late Bronze, when Egyptian influence was dominant, and the Iron Ages of Hebrew occupation, when, although artistic culture was at a lower level, yet the city was apparently frequently, if not continuously, populous and flourishing. The pottery series goes to confirm, supplement, and enrich the collections formed and expounded by such authorities as Père Hugues Vincent, Prof. Albright, and Mr. Duncan, although it is not as complete here as might be desired, many types being absent. Though we have not the actual remains of the historical Gedaliah, we have the seal of one of Zedekiah's officers actually mentioned in the Scriptures.

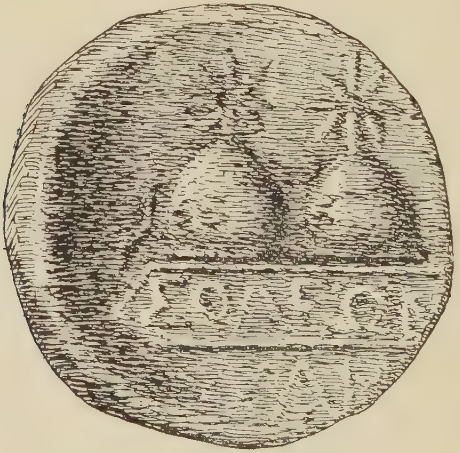
The identification of the source is practically assured. And the whole is a complete example of the classical Hebrew city, continuing a far earlier foundation of a higher culture, and fully furnished, as at Gezer and Megiddo, with encircling wall, towers, gates, a subterranean water supply, temple or temples, sacrificial area, market and streets. As the Hebrews themselves believed, and as their own records show, they inherited, or took possession of, a country and a civilisation which had already a long history of intensive culture, extending over more than one, and in some parts perhaps more nearly two, thousand years, previous to their arrival. To this fact also the excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh, carried down to bed-rock by Dr. Badè and his assistants, bear eloquent witness.

A DIOSCURI CULT IN SEBUSTIYA.

By M. Narkiss, *Jerusalem.*

In the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1932, two *haut-reliefs* in stone were published by Prof. Crowfoot; these were found during the Samaria-Sebustiya excavations of 1931 in a temple at Karam el-Tūteh (p. 23), and belong approximately to the third century A.D. Each of these stones bears a relief of a tiara, or, more correctly, of a star-crested *pileus* (πῖλος). Prof. Crowfoot remarks with justice that they remind us of the upper part of the reverse of the coins of Herod I (B.M.C., Palestine, p. 220, Nos. 1-10, Pl. xxiii, 14), on which, however, the shape is less pointed and more domed, almost like that of the *pileolus* or *calotte*. Here also, as on the stones, the star rises on a high stem, resembling a crested crown.

But both the two *haut-reliefs* and the design represented on them seem to belong to a period earlier than that of the Herodian coins mentioned. At any rate they must be older than the third century.



A coin of Solis (Pompeiopolis).

Now the *pileus* in this shape, with a star on top of it—whether it be crowned with a wreath or not—is always, beginning with the Hellenistic period, a symbol of one or the other of the Dioscuri, who usually appear together and are very ancient deities in the Greek cult. They assist and protect sailors and those who fight at sea. The two stars are an attributive symbol of the Dioscuri (Διόςκοροι) as gods of light. The double *pileus* appears mostly as a symbol of both the Dioscuri together, and thus we find these symbols in many places, in temples, and especially on coins. The town Dioscurias uses the two *pilei* as a *symbole-parlant*, as also do Melos, Colophon, Thomis, and other towns. On a Roman coin of 268 B.C. the Dioscuri appear riding on galloping horses ; on their heads we see *pilei* with stars.[1] The resemblance is particularly clear between these two *haut-reliefs* and a coin of the town Solis (later Pompeiopolis) from the collection of the " Bezalel " National Museum, a photograph of which is given here.

A E. 20 mm. (B.M.C., Lycaonia, etc. (1900) P. QTQ., No. 42, Pl. xxvi, 14).

Obverse : Tyche r., with turreted crown and veil.

Reverse : The two *pilei* of the Dioscuri, on the back of each of them a crested star on a pedestal in the form of a parallelogram, and in it the inscription : ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. Under the parallelogram an inscription, ΔΡ.

On the coins of Herod I there is another detail which suggests that the above-mentioned " helmet " is connected with the Dioscuri-cult. In various places the attribute of " gentlemanlike deeds " wrought by the Dioscuri in protecting the feeble and those lacking other patrons (this being their principal beneficent function) is the palm-leaf, or more exactly the palm branch, instead of the wreath around the *pileus*. As this appears here on the *haut-relief* it symbolises the protection of Agone. But I am not attempting to suggest that Herod had any reason to appropriate the emblems of the Dioscuri or attach them to himself. There are reasons for the supposition that the cult of the Dioscuri existed in the country at an earlier period, and the likeness of the representation of the *pileus* on the coin of Soli-Pompeiopolis, which was struck between 300 and 80 B.C., to that on the *haut-reliefs* confirms this. It is possible that the Seleucid emperors had introduced this cult into the Hellenised towns of Palestine, and that when Antiochus IV restored the ruins of old Samaria, he laid the foundations of a temple built in honour of the Dioscuri. Those who built the new Samaria-Sebaste had before their eyes the ruins of the Hellenic Dioscuri temple, which must certainly have been demolished by the destroyers of the city, Antigonus and Aristobulus, the sons of John Hyrcanus, after their conquests in 107 B.C.[2] The rebuilders used our two stones when they reconstructed the former temple of Samaria (the new Sebaste), and placed them inside the temple, which then became again a centre of this cult, or of one of the similar cults which appeared here at that time.

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[1] Vide Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, p. 144, s.v. Dioscuri ; *Pauly-Wissowa, R. E.*, ix, p. 1207, s.v. Dioscuri 12 ; B. Pick in *Jahrbuch des kais. deutschen Arch. Inst.*, xiii (1898), pp. 152-3, Pl. x, 13, 14 ; *Die Munzen Nord-griech.* I, Pl. v, vi ; Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 294.

In any case the helmet comes to view again, though not in the *pileus* form, on coins of Sebaste from a later period, namely on coins of Domitian of the years 108 (PH), 109 (PΘ), 110 (PI), *i.e.*, 83/84, 84/85, 85/86 A.D. (B.M.C., p. 79, Pl. viii, 9). In this shape (the Macedonian helmet) it appears also on coins of Herod (B.M.C., p. 221, No. 11, Pl. xxiv, 1). On another coin, which also belongs to the Sebaste mint, and was struck during the reign of Commodus, an obscure god appears, bearing in his hand palm leaves or branches (B.M.C., p. 79, No. 8, Pl. viii, 11), described as " ears of corn " (*sic*), and having a helmet on his head. It is possible that this is one of the Dioscuri in the form of Pollux or Castor, as they were usually represented in the Roman environment.

The existence of a cult of the Dioscuri in Palestine is further witnessed by several colonial coins. In Jerusalem (Aelia Capitolina) the Dioscuri appear together on the coins of Antoninus Pius. Between the two figures is an eagle, and there are stars above their heads (B.M.C., p. 86, Nos. 21-28, Pl. ix, 6, 7). On the coins of Askalon also they appear during the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Faustina Junior (B.M.C., p. 132, Nos. 206, 7 ; p. 135, Nos. 236, 7 ; Pl. xiv, 2, 7).[3]

On the basis of what we know of the forms of the two *pilei* and of the symbols which they represent, we can use the two *haut-reliefs* as a foundation for the hypothesis that there was a cult of the Dioscuri in Sebaste. It may be also that an ancient temple here, rebuilt during the Seleucid period, was dedicated to the Dioscuri and perhaps even bore their name.

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[2] Jos. *Antiq.* xiii, 10, 2 ; *Bell. Jud.* I, 2, vii.

[3] I regret that the important work of G. F. Hill, *Palestinian Cults in the Greco-Roman Age*, was not before me.

GOG AND THE DANGER FROM THE NORTH, IN EZEKIEL.

By Prof. John L. Myres, F.B.A., &c.

In the writings ascribed to Ezekiel, and dated by their writer to "years of our captivity," from the sixth (viii, 1 = 591 B.C.) to the twenty-fifth (xl, 1 = 572 B.C.) are numerous allusions to contemporary events, and reflexions on current policies; profound disapproval of the reckless policy of Zedekiah in Jerusalem, as futile as it was dishonourable; resentment against Canaanite, Syrian and Egyptian cults, and the general slackness of orthodox ritual and behaviour; indignation at economic and social abuses which may well have been as widespread in the towns and villages of the Captivity as they were in Jerusalem itself. Side by side with these domestic criticisms, there are denunciations of other peoples, Ammon, Moab and Edom, Philistines and Cherethim, Tyre and Egypt, which throw valuable light on the difficulties of Zedekiah and his advisers, and on the contemporary fulminations of their implacable opponent, Jeremiah.

Quite distinct, however, from all these familiar enemies of the Jewish kingdom, and more difficult to put into historical perspective, is what may be described as the "Danger from the North," in the prophecy against "Gog" in chapters xxxviii-ix. "Son of Man, set thy face against Gog, the land of Magog, the chief Prince of Meshech and Tubal, and prophesy against him" (xxxviii, 2 A.V.[1]). It is a confederacy, or empire, of many peoples, "horses and horsemen, all of them clothed with all sorts, a great company with bucklers and shields, all of them handling swords (4) . . . all of them with shield and helmet (5) . . . all of them riding upon horses" (15). It is a great raid, for plunder, "to take a spoil and to take a prey"; it will terrify distant Arabia and the "merchants of Tarshish" (12). It comes "out of the north parts" (15), and also from the west, for "I will send a fire upon Magog and among them that dwell carelessly in the isles" alongside and beyond Asia Minor. But this invasion will come to a sudden disastrous end "upon the mountains of Israel" (xxxix, 2) in the "valley of the passengers on the east of the sea" (*v.* 11), and there are graphic details of the country-side littered with spears and corpses, and of seven months scavenging by a whole-time burial corps, "men of continual employment" (xxxix, 14). As it is not till after this horror that Israel shall be "gathered out of their enemies' lands," the "Danger from the North" is figured as falling within the period of Babylonian captivity.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated the translations are from the A.V.

Is it possible to identify this occurrence, or at all events a moment of panic and apprehension which made such prognostication thinkable? Ancient writers, profane as well as biblical, had no scruples in appropriating the literary phrases of their predecessors to their own occasions. We are free therefore to distinguish between the crisis with its causes, and the prophet's anticipation of its effects.

The Prophet's Imagery, and its Sources.—From the middle of the seventh century, almost to its close, there has been recurrent "Danger from the North," through Scythian and Cimmerian raids, which had reached the Philistine lowland, and probably harried Judah also. Herodotus has a story (i, 103-6) of a similar raid, ended by massacre, after the Scythians had "captured Nineveh" and "ruled Asia twenty-eight years"; and some of these Scythians, in retreat from the Egyptian border, left their mark on Ascalon, and its goddess her mark on themselves. Compare with this, Jeremiah i, 13-14, in the thirteenth year of Josiah, 626 B.C. :—"I see a seething pot, and its face is towards the north . . . Out of the north an evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of this land . . . and they shall come and they shall set everyone his throne at the entering of the gate of Jerusalem." It is also in Josiah's reign, that Zephaniah declares (ii, 4) that "Gaza shall be forsaken and Ashkelon a desolation . . . Woe to the inhabitants of the sea-coast, the nation of the Cherethim"; and it was this devastation of Philistia that was to enable Judah thereafter to occupy the low country; "in the houses of Ashkelon shall they lie down in the evening," with the disastrous result of fresh feud and reprisal in the time of Necho and Hophra, a generation later (Ezek. xxv, 15, 16; Jer. xxv, 19-26). Probably in Josiah's reign, too, comes more trouble, in Jeremiah vi, 22-23; "evil appeareth out of the north, and great destruction (vi) . . . they shall lay hold on bow and spear . . . and they ride upon horses, set in array as men of war." Another such raid from the north is in viii, 16 : when " the snorting of his horses was heard from Dan." But these earlier raids are anonymous, " all the families of the kingdoms of the north " : only the reference to Ashkelon (Zeph. ii, 4) permits probable identification with the Scythians of Herodotus (i, 106).

Ezekiel's use of this earlier imagery.—But Ezekiel uses this earlier imagery for a quite different occasion. Under " Gog of the land of Gog " (*mat-Gog* in Assyrian) are leagued many known peoples, not all of them dwellers in the north :—

(*a*) Older peoples of Asia Minor, belonging to the Midas regime, or earlier ; Meshech, Tubal, " and their king Rôs " (lxx) representing the Muski and Tabal of Assyrian conquests, the Mosoch (Mosocheni) of lxx and Josephus, the Moschoi Mazaca and Tibareni of Greek geography, and perhaps Rusas, the name of three kings of Urartu around Lake Van. So too in Genesis x, 2. Magog is a son of Japhet, and stands between Gomer and Madai-Javan-Tubal-Meschech-Tiras. Closer to the Midas regime stands Togarmah (Thorgama, LXX : Thrugramma, Josephus) with its echoes of Greek *Phryges* and *Pergama*, though it is affiliated here to Gomer, and related to Ashkenaz.

(*b*) Gomer, as usual, stands for the *Gimmiri* of Assyrian records, and the Greek *Kimmerioi*, trans-Caucasian raiders of the years from 680 to 630 B.C. ; Ashkenaz, for Greek *Skythai*, a quite distinct people, but involved like the *Kimmerioi* in this whole series of movements ; the Madai of Genesis x, 2 are the Assyrian *Manda* raiders, and have left their name in Matiêne and probably in Media.

(*c*) But who, or what, is Gog ? The Assyrian *Gagu* of Sahi, who has been suggested, was no great chief ; the *Gagaya* " barbarians " of the Tell-el-Amarna period are eight centuries earlier. But Gyges of Lydia, the *Gugu of Lidi* whose name first reached Assyria about 670 was the founder of the only regime in Asia Minor that had withstood the Kimmerian invasion, and now under his great-grandson Alyattes, had become the paramount power in the peninsula, and had been fighting on equal terms with Media from 581 to 575 B.C.

(*d*) If Gog be the Lydian empire, thus popularly identified with the name of its creator, the rest of the " peoples of the north " fall into place in the picture. There were certainly Scythian free-companies in the Lydian service (Hdt. i, 73-4), probably also Kimmerian. "They that dwell carelessly in the isles" will be the Greek mercenaries from Ionia and Caria, who were to render such signal service to Alyattes at the "Battle of the Eclipse" (see below). "Ethiopia and Libya (*Phut* as in xxvii, 10) . . . all of them with shield and helmet" are those oversea troops with armour like the Carian (Hdt. 1, 171), which Egypt could send to Alyattes, and afterwards to Croesus, just as Gyges had sent his own men to help Psammetichus of Egypt against Assurbanipal. The fact that, as we shall see, Egypt was being attacked on its own land-front by Nebuchadnezzar during the Six Years' War, was no obstacle to this employment of strategical reserves by an ally oversea.

(*e*) Only one of the confederates of Gog offers difficulty ;—what is the *Persia* that is associated with Ethiopia and Libya in xxxviii, 5, as with Lydia and Libya (*Lud* and *Phut*) among the mercenaries of Tyre (xxvii, 10)? If the whole passage were of later date, and the "Danger from the North" were the coming of Cyrus and his Persians, surely Persia would furnish the "chief prince"; Gog (meaning Lydia) would be an enemy, not an ally; and there could hardly fail to be mention of the Medes. The alternative is to suppose, *first*, that before the days of Cyrus, and, indeed, at any time after the collapse of the old Elamite regime about 640 B.C., Persian highlanders wandered abroad in free companies, to serve rich employers like Lydia and Tyre; *second*, that on this particular occasion there was a real apprehension that Persians, like Ethiopians and Libyans, would be among the confederates of Gog, whether or not that peril actually happened.

The Historical Occasion of the Danger from the North.—To appreciate what the danger was, and discover its occasion, we have to review the course of events in the Nearer East since the Fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. What had shattered Assyrian rule was a coalition of the new Babylon of Nabopolassar with the Medes under Kyaxares; and the victors divided the spoil. To Babylon fell naturally the south-western half, lowland, Semitic or semitized, and long accustomed to look to Babylon itself for most aspects of higher culture. To the Medes fell, as naturally, the north-eastern highlands, more or less superficially Aryanized as far as Persia to the south-east, and passing westwards from Iranian into Armenian and eventually Phrygian dominance in Asia Minor. Each of the " Great Two " had thus scope for further adventures ; Babylon across the Euphrates, in Syria and Palestine, with Egypt beyond, resentful and mischievous, a " bruised reed " to its friends and dupes ; while Media had the western highlands to domesticate as it could, with no admitted or even possible frontier, and a fair prize in the Cappadocian plateau beyond. But here, too, there was a " thorn in the flesh " ; for, beyond the Halys river, Lydia had built up its own regime of the west, and set covetous eyes on Cappadocia. So long as all went well between the " Great Two," their respective victims and enemies could do little but make common cause with each other ; hence the frequent coupling of Egypt or its dependencies with Lydia in political utterances p. 216). And for the moment all was well. Nabopolassar's brilliant son Nebuchadrezzar married Kyaxares' daughter ; he took, however, also the precaution to make the " Median Wall " impregnable, from Euphrates to Tigris, in case of family jars.

By 590 B.C. Media had the Lydian wolf by the ears, and Egypt used its opportunity to make trouble for Babylon. But Nebuchadrezzar struck back hard, besieging Tyre (Ezek. xxix, 18) for thirteen years to cover his operations further south, defeating the Egyptian field army (Ezek. xxx, 20), and capturing Jerusalem in 586. Both Ezekiel (xxx, 10*ff*) and Jeremiah (xliii, 10-13) indeed were confident that he would set up his throne in Egypt itself.

Then something unexpected and disturbing happened. After six years of " even warfare," the " Battle of the Eclipse," astronomically dated to 28th May, 585, ended the struggle between Lydians and Medes. Herodotus, to whom (i, 74) we owe the story, only says that they " ceased fighting and hastened rather both to make peace." He adds, however, that " those who brought them into agreement " were the Kings of Cilicia and Babylon. But if reconciliation was spontaneous, intervention was needless. And as he says that the Lydians—or rather the Ionians—were warned of the eclipse by Thales, the Milesian astronomer—so presumably the Medes were not —it may be that the reason why Cilicia and Babylon intervened was that the Lydian army took advantage of a Median panic to inflict a crushing defeat, so that the whole political regime was in peril. In that event, Babylon had every reason to come to the rescue of its Median ally ; while Cilicia, which had preserved its independence so long as there was balance of power between Media and Lydia, had everything to fear if the scale turned in favour of either, and especially if Lydia won ; for geographically Cilicia was " within the Halys " (Hdt. 1, 28), and the " Battle of the Eclipse " is now known, from the astronomical evidence for totality, to have been fought on the southern, not the northern, route.

Here then was a moment of suspense, almost of panic. It was Babylon now, who had the wolf by the ears. Tyre was besieged, but untaken ; Jerusalem was captured, but a resentful remnant made trouble for Gedaliah (Jer. xli, 1) ; the Babylonian field army was presumably operating against Egypt further south. Even Jeremiah, usually friendly to Babylon, spoke out :—" For out of the north there cometh a nation against her, which shall make her land desolate and none shall dwell therein (i, 3) . . . an assembly of great nations from the north country (v. 9) . . . . put yourselves in array against Babylon round about, all ye that bend the bow, shoot at her, spare no arrows (v. 14) . . . call together the archers against Babylon ; all ye that bend the bow camp against it round about ", with more explicit detail (vv. 41-42) almost verbally from the repertory already mentioned.

Even more graphic is the description in chapter li :—" Call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni and Ashchenaz, appoint a captain against her[1] ; cause the horses to come up as the rough caterpillars. Prepare against her the nations, with the kings of the Medes. . . ." (27, 28). Both the bowmen and the horsemen are charactistic of the Northern Peril. And then follows the cliché about the vast size of the threatened city :—" One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the King of Babylon that his city is taken at one end " (li, 31. Compare Hdt. 1, 191, of the later capture by Cyrus.).

But it is in Ezekiel's chapters about Gog (xxxviii-ix) that we have the fullest picture of the " Danger from the North," as it loomed up " by the waters of Babylon " itself, with vivid reference to Scythian, Kimmerian, Libyan, and even Persian auxiliaries. For as the news spreads of a capital defeat, border provinces revolt, the victor advances through "friendly" territory, local contingents join him, and allies come in. Only the firm stand of Cilicia across the road into Syria saved the situation, and won time for the King of Babylon to intervene. That the "Danger from the North" was never more than a danger,—that Cilicia and Babylon imposed on Lydia and Media the *status quo ante bellum*, and that the Great Two became the fourfold League of Despots, which it was the mission of Cyrus to overthrow, does not diminish the historical value of this vivid glimpse of ancient history.

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[1] *Cf.* " their captain Rôs," Ezek. xxxvii, 2, 3, xxxix, 1, LXX ; " the chief prince," A.V.

NOTE ON THE MAP OF THE PRINCIPAL EXCAVATED SITES OF PALESTINE, COMPILED BY THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

In any field of activity it is desirable, from time to time, to take stock of what has been actually accomplished, with a view, partly to realize fully what results have been attained, and partly to make suitable preparations for the future. This kind of review is especially necessary in the case of the archæological exploration of Palestine on account of the considerable number of countries and institutions which have taken part in the work, during a long period of years.

The Executive Committee of the Fund, therefore, directed the preparation of the accompanying map, which has been drawn in the office of the Fund and has been reproduced by the Ordnance Survey. It has been reproduced on two scales ; the smaller to accompany the *Quarterly Statement*, and the larger to serve as a reference and wall map. These two versions are exactly similar, but for the scales.

It is hoped that the map will also be found useful for study in connection with the "Concise Bibliography of Excavations in Palestine," recently compiled by the Palestine Department of Antiquities and published in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. I, Nos. 2-4, to which work we are much indebted.

The map does not show many casual and accidental discoveries and work of a superficial nature, but is confined, in the main, to marking the sites of organised scientific researches. A few additional place-names are inserted as landmarks.

The next undertaking of this nature will be, as suggested by the Bishop of Rochester, the provision of a map to show the unexcavated tells and historical sites. This is a more formidable task and will take some time. But the Executive Committee have every intention of publishing such a map eventually.

C. F. Close.

22 September, 1932.

" THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF PALESTINE AND THE BIBLE."[1]

By Professor John Garstang, M.A., D.Sc., Hon. Ll.D.

Professor Albright, the author of this instructive book, was for a full eight years Director of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. When he took charge of that Institution he found it modestly equipped and with a corresponding limitation in its functions ; when he left, it had become one of the most efficient organisations in the country, with a splendid hostel and laboratories, and contributing regularly, by research and publications, to enrich our knowledge of the archæology and topography of the land. The material progress was the result of generous endowments, but the distinguished position attained among friendly rivals was largely the result of Dr. Albright's own clear sightedness, unflagging energy and sound scholarship. Those who were in contact with him at this time, indeed all who have followed the course of his life's work, which has found expression hitherto in numerous learned papers scattered through too many periodicals, have looked forward to the day when in the comparative leisure of the Chair at Baltimore which has fittingly rewarded his earlier years, he would give to the world a connected and studied opinion on the various problems of Biblical archæology which have come within his purview.

The present volume, though but a preface, we hope, to greater works, does not belie these expectations. It is in fact the written record of three lectures (The Richards Lectures delivered at the University of Virginia in 1931) ; and it marks a stage in the author's studies, wherein he sums up the situation on many of the bigger problems of Biblical archæology and criticism, and brings his own thoughts and conclusions up to date. It is a welcome contribution from one whose opinion is entitled to respect ; and though in numerous details it cannot claim finality, notwithstanding the author's downright method of expression, it marks a notable advance in the handling of Biblical questions, and will probably cause sceptics[2] to scratch their heads in bewilderment. No one without prejudice could follow the archæological details and the scholar's arguments in this book without recognising the historical basis of Biblical tradition. The author goes further in his conclusion (p. 176): attributing the erroneous results of Wellhausen and his school to the incompleteness of their logical premises, he states frankly his opinion that " Conservative scholars are entirely justified in their vigorous denunciation of all efforts to prove the fraudulent invention and deliberate forgery of the Bible."

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[1] *The Archæology of Palestine and the Bible : The Richards Lectures delivered at the University of Virginia.* By William Foxwell Albright. pp. 233. Revell Company, New York, 1932. Price, $2.00.

The book is divided into three chapters, with substantial notes grouped together as an Appendix at the end (pp. 178-226). In the first chapter the author discusses the " Discovery of Ancient Palestine," in particular, the uncovering of its ancient sites. In the second he describes his own excavations on the site of Kiriath-Sepher, Tell Beit Mersîm, and makes an effort to interpret the various phases of occupation and destruction in the light of historical events. In the third, the most important chapter, he gives us a glimpse of that for which we have all been waiting, his views on the Bible in the light of Archæology.

The first chapter provides an admirable and succinct summary of the progress of exploration in Palestine. The author has adopted a readable style, which, though concise and full of facts, carries the reader forward with increasing interest. His statements are straightforward, his criticisms unsparing, his praise unstinted, and his allusions often personal, but through all there is the true ring of sincerity and consciousness of knowledge which keeps the reader in sympathy with the author's method.

" Recent progress " includes the great gift by that world-benefactor, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of two million dollars for the establishment and endowment of a Palestine Museum of Archæology in Jerusalem. Among the chief features of " the first phase of Scientific Exploration " the researches of Edward Robinson receive a special tribute, while due recognition is paid to the work of Robertson Smith, to Clermont-Ganneau, and to the officers of the P. E. F. who carried out the Survey of Western Palestine. In the last connexion he reminds us that it was only as the work proceeded that the full significance of the ancient Tells became apparent ; and indeed that pioneer survey ought now to be followed up with an archæological supplement if it is to retain its value. This section concludes by showing how helpless were the earlier excavators, owing to lack of knowledge as to the ceramic and architectural styles.

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[2] In using the word Sceptic the writer would add that in his view all scholars should be sceptics in a sense, and he personally can see no objection to the use of this word by Dr. Cook when reviewing the *Foundations of Bible History*, on pp. 88-96 of this *Journal*, where clearly it refers to scientific caution and not at all to Religion. Scholarly scepticism is much more likely to disclose the truth than blind conservatism ; it is only when scepticism defies logic and common sense that it may obscure the issue.

The second phase of scientific exploration dates, according to the author, from 1890, " a fateful date in the history of our subject," for it was then that W. M. Flinders Petrie, who had already begun to lay stress on the chronological value of pottery, hitherto neglected by archæologists, undertook a six weeks' sounding in the mound of Tell el-Hesi. Then came Bliss, and next Macalister, whose valuable contributions are duly examined and appraised. Hitherto excavations had been confined to Jerusalem and Judæa, but under Sellin and Schumacher they were extended to a wider field, to the great sites of Taanach and Megiddo in the plain of Esdraelon, and later, in collaboration with Watzinger, to Jericho in the Jordan valley. The author examines the methods and results of one and all, and shows in the light of modern experience where they failed. It was chiefly adhesion to the old trench system that proved the stumbling block to reliable stratigraphy and hence to chronological conclusions. On this point the writer of these lines, after a life devoted to excavation and the study of method, would like to add a word of comment. It is hardly possible for an excavator in practice to determine the limits to his stratifications when working solely from the top : he is in fact working in the dark. An exploration trench, or a series of trenches, neat and narrow, cut through in lines suggested by experience and the nature of a site, guided by just principles as to the growth and nature of ruins, though in itself likely to do some damage, will in nine cases out of ten save the excavator from mistakes and waste, if not from damage on a larger scale. The practical rules which emerge from the writer's own experience are simply these :—

(*a*) Examine by sections. (*b*) Excavate by layers.

When the sections have been cut and carefully examined, the excavator can proceed to remove and record the successive layers, which they will have disclosed, with much less risk of damage and confusion than by groping downwards through the unknown to the unsuspected.

With the entry of George A. Reisner into the field of Palestinian investigation, seconded by C. S. Fisher, excavation assumed a new phase. Dr. Reisner is a master of method, and Dr. Fisher has developed a genius in the same direction. Samaria was the scene of their excavation ; the results have been published in full. A complex of ruins contained remains of successive palace constructions of Omri and Ahab, and of the latter some seventy ostraca. Not only was a firm contact established between archæological results and Bible history, but new light was thrown directly upon the language and religion of the northern kingdom, on its topography, and especially on its provincial and fiscal organisation. The P. E. F. and the British School are collaborating, as all know, in the further excavation of the site. This section ends with an account of the ill-fated but not altogether useless expedition of Captain Parker, and a short but incisive criticism of an attempt made by Handcock in 1916 to correlate and synthesize the data collected since 1890. The dates given by Sellin and Watzinger for Jericho, by Bliss and Macalister for the mounds of the Shephelah, by Macalister for Gezer, and by Mackenzie for Bethshemesh, did not, in fact, agree at all ; and " the attempt to base a synthesis on their chronology resulted, of course, in chaos."

The section on Excavations since the War (pp. 36-62) tells how with the encouragement of the new government, the errors of the past were overcome by a greater insistence on scientific method, and perhaps more than all by the spirit of co-operation which animated this new era. In this great work the collaboration of the long-founded " Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne," under its revered head the T. R. Père Lagrange and a " galaxy of distinguished scholars," with the American and British Schools, and other organisations, and the " presence of such men as Père Vincent and C. S. Fisher " are mentioned by the author as ensuring continuity of method and of knowledge. He says nothing of his own share in this common effort ; but to that the writer of these lines, who was in almost daily contact with him and others throughout these momentous years, bears witness with gratitude and appreciation. No individual has done more to advance the cause of Biblical and archæological research in Palestine in relatively so short a time than Dr. Albright himself, whether as Student, Scholar, Director, Colleague or Friend.

The progress of research in this post-war period, surpassing all possible expectations, is fresh in memory. The results obtained by Fisher, Rowe, and FitzGerald, at Beisan ; by Fisher at first, and then Guy at Megiddo ; by the American School at Tell-el-Ful ; by Badè at Tell el-Nasbeh ; by Grant at 'Ain Shems ; by the P. E. F. at Ascalon, and on the site of Ophel, and by Petrie on the site of Gerar and elsewhere in the extreme south, are all passed instructively in review, and the more important conclusions checked, or emphasised. An account of the Danish and German exploration of the important Biblical sites of Shiloh and Shechem, followed by the opening up of the new field of Prehistoric Palestine under the initiation of the British School, brings this impartial record to an end.

The second chapter, "Unearthing a Biblical City," while equally instructive, will appeal more to the specialist. None the less, the description of the site, the details, incidents and difficulties of beginning and conducting an excavation are of general interest. The site chosen, as already mentioned, was that of Tell Beit Mersîm, convincingly identified by Dr. Albright, and his colleague Dr. Kyle, with Kiriath Sepher. The writer has dealt in detail with this work elsewhere. Briefly it may be said that a complete, though small walled city soon came to light, with its ramparts, gates and internal houses. Its history, full of chequered incident, is traced back to the Early Bronze Age, before 2000 B.C., through a series of stratified remains, of which no fewer than six (labelled I to D) pertain to the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1500 B.C.), the great period of Canaanitish activity and prosperity. The Hyksos domination, which, at Jericho, marked the zenith of the city's fortunes, seems to have produced at Kiriath Sepher (which faces the coastal plain) a rather different result, though the fortifications and culture products were comparable. Dr. Albright dates the destruction of this city (D) to the middle of 16th century B.C., on the strength of analogies from Beisan. In this connexion, though the date may be right, it should be observed that the pottery from Beisan is also dated by inference from town levels, and probably the last word has not yet been said upon the subject. Tomb groups, especially the smaller groups, provide more reliable criteria ; and in this respect the uniquely fruitful tombs of Jericho will help to fix our archæological boundaries more firmly. Possibly the actual dates to be assigned to different culture types varied in different areas of the country, in proportion to the accessibility of the sites, their proximity to trade routes, and other factors. Certainly the types comparable with those of city D persist at Jericho until the time of Thutmose III, and Dr. Albright recognizes this to have been the case at Beisan. Consequently, though we respect Dr. Albright's opinion, that the destruction of city D, and the great conflagration with which it was accompanied, together with the traces of a bitter struggle, are to be connected with the Egyptian conquest of Palestine after the expulsion of the Hyksos, we hesitate to accept so near an approximation or so early a date as c. 1560-1550 B.C. We must await the publication and comparison of the material evidence, from this site, from Jericho, and from Beisan, before attempting to arrive at a definite conclusion ; indeed, Dr. Albright himself, although drawn towards that date, recognises that it is not definite, though probably falling within the sixteenth century B.C. Our first impression is that a later date may be admitted ; and that the destruction of City D may prove to be attributable to the reconquest of Syria by Thutmose III early in the XVth century B.C.

However that may be, the history of City C falls clearly within the period of Egyptian domination from Thutmose III to Ramses II, in round figures 1450-1250 B.C. Its archæological outline is well described : the culture is that of the Late Bronze Age, characterised here, as elsewhere, in its earlier phase by the importation of Cypriote motives, and from 1400 B.C. onwards, or just earlier, by the infiltration of Mykenaean wares, which were soon seized upon as models for local art. Historically, as all know, the Egyptian regime was disturbed from time to time by local outbreaks severely repressed by the Pharaohs, and, in particular, by the revolution which broke out early in the XIVth century B.C., when the Pharaohs Amenhetep III and IV failed to protect the inhabitants against the Habiru invasion. The stratifications of Tell Beit Mersîm, clearly interpreted by Dr. Albright, tell a consistent story of these times. The whole period is represented by two layers of occupation, each covered by a layer of ashes which marks its end. In the upper layer was found a steatite scarab of Amenhetep III, with part of its ring setting still adherent, and also another scarab of Ramesside style: these two objects roughly indicate the time-limits to that stratum, which was further distinguished by the appearance of Mykenaean wares. Other objects found in these strata are carefully examined, and include a stone table of offerings with three lions in relief around the rim, several different types of Astarte figurines, and at least six Astarte plaques representing the naked Syrian goddess. In his discussion of the latter, Dr. Albright pauses before a group of the "Qadesh" style, in which the head of the goddess is covered with a feather crown, and points out that this feature has hitherto been often regarded erroneously as some sort of mural crown or *calathos*. He has studied all the relevant material from Mesopotamia and the eastern Mediterranean basin in an effort to trace the original home of this interesting feature, which, in the early Iron Age, becomes prominent as the headdress of the Philistine invaders. For this reason, and in accordance with classical tradition, Dr. Albright inclines to assign it to an Anatolian origin. This may be right, but there is a piece of evidence from the upper Nile which ought to be taken into consideration. This is the fact that the goddess Anuket, who at Sahel and Elephantine is seen to have occupied with Khnum and Satet a position in the Cataract Triad, wears a feather headdress identical with that later worn by the Philistines. It is true that her worship was apparently confined to Upper Egypt and Nubia, but her parentage ("daughter of Ra") suggests a northern origin. Her cult dates back to the time of Senusret I, and was particularly respected in the early XVIIIth Dynasty by the Pharaohs Thutmose III and Amenhetep II, whose reigns fall within the period of city C at Tell Beit Mersim.

It is clear from Dr. Albright's discussion that the feather headdress made its appearance in Canaan before the advent of the Philistines, for this phase of the city's life came to an end before the typical Philistine wares appeared. The culture of city C was Canaanitish, even in its upper stratum; and we must agree that there is no trace therein of any Israelitish settlement. The city was burnt and re-occupied, with a new pre-Philistine culture, in the second half of the XIIIth century B.C. Dr. Albright reminds us that the Merneptah stele, which is the first "absolute datum," tells of the defeat of the people of Israel by Merneptah during the same half-century, roughly about 1225 B.C. The allusion in our opinion is not apposite. If the fall of Kiriath Sepher is to be regarded as covered by this reference, then the Israelites must have been in occupation of the city from the time of Amenhetep III, having adopted town life and Canaanitish culture spontaneously and wholeheartedly, and without trace of the change. This, as Dr. Albright himself points out (p. 99), would involve the rejection of the early historical traditions of Israel almost completely. Nor can that episode account for the fall of the city about 1225 at the hands of Egypt, if, as we believe, Dr. Albright is right in assigning the next phase of occupatuon, B 1, which followed immediately, to the Israelites or their southern allies. The Merneptah stele seems to be introduced by him as a chronological peg upon which to hang his own views as to the nature and date of the Israelitish conquest. "In spite of all that has been written in favour of a higher date for the principal phases of the Conquest (p. 100), it is very difficult to reconcile the traditions of Israel with a date before the latter part of the reign of Rameses the Great, e.g., before 1250 at the earliest." In further explanation of the author's views, we find a clear statement in the notes on p. 197 (n. 81) :

"There is now a strong tendency to date the Conquest about 1400 B.C. The writer's view is that the Conquest began in the times of the Patriarchs, as described in Gen. xxxiv, xlviii 22, etc., and continued intermittently during the subsequent period, with one phase in the late sixteenth or early fifteenth century (Jericho and Ai), and a culminating triumph after the establishment of the Israelite confederation by Moses in the second half of the thirteenth century B.C."

It would evidently take us too far to discuss this view in detail, but we venture to offer a friendly challenge to Dr. Albright to produce any evidence, literary or material, in support of the last phase in this process, or its date.

Moreover, if the Merneptah stele is to be explained topographically, it recognises a "people Israel" as an element in the population of the centre or north of Palestine, and distinguished specifically from the south, which is mentioned by its own name, *Kharu*. It may, and very likely does, refer to the neighbourhood of Shechem, the earliest to be occupied. But who, having read the narrative critically, can suppose that the settlement became effective in a generation, or even in a century? In any case, there is a strong suggestion that the capture of "Debir" was not a contemporary event. But whatever the argument, the fact remains, that Israelite tradition bears no trace of a conquest or "Mosaic movement" (p. 167) in the XIIIth century B.C. That profound event, and the entry of Israel under Joshua, are referred alike by direct statement in the Book of Kings, and by analysis of data in the Book of Judges, to the latter half of the fifteenth century B.C.; and such archæological evidence as is available supports the Biblical tradition.

Much misconception as to the nature of Israel's Settlement and the imagined need for "reconstruction" of the Biblical account, would be removed if scholars would pay due regard to the processes of assimilation actually taking place to-day. Tribesmen used to nomadic or pastoral life do not, indeed cannot, adopt town life and ways in a year or within a generation. In Trans-Jordan the Belkawiyeh (of whom the Edwan are a leading branch) and the Beni Sakher, both originally desert tribes, are gradually settling, but the process in both cases has taken more than 200 years. In the writer's opinion this factor explains the absence of material traces of the Israelite penetration throughout the latter half of the late Bronze Age. During this time the Israelites still mostly abode in tents; and when in accordance with their needs or instincts, tent dwellers move their camp, they leave behind little or no durable trace of their presence.

The third and concluding chapter of Dr. Albright's book dealing with "The Bible in the Light of Archæology" is of marvellous interest, and will be read carefully by all who desire to keep abreast of modern research in that connection. The author's scholarship, his ready command of all useful languages, and his intimate knowledge of what others are doing the world over, render this part of his study indispensable to students. It will, indeed, astonish many readers. Divesting his subject of all prejudice and superstition, he deals with the problems from the standpoint of common-sense. After some preliminary observations on the bearing of archæology on Biblical problems, he selects for discussion three particular questions: The Age of the Patriarchs in the Light of Archæology, the Law of Moses, and the Age of the Exile and the Restoration. We sincerely hope he will expand these contributions, and it is obvious from the illuminative footnotes that he does not lack material for the purpose. His familiarity with the established critical position gives special value to his own opinions; as seen, for example, in the pithy note at the foot of p. 213, where he shows reason to believe that the dates given by the Wellhausen school to the redaction of J and E are too high, considerably too high in the former case, and must follow the height of the prophetic movement, not precede it. With this most students will now agree. Indeed, E, in some respects, seems to embody the more substantial proportion of the older documents. There is much, no doubt, that Dr. Albright might tell us as to the original sources; but he leaves us in no doubt as to the historical origins of Biblical tradition.

John Garstang.

NOTICES OF BOOKS AND JOURNALS.

Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars secunda, inscriptiones Aramaicas continens. Tomus III, fasciculus primus. Paris, 1926.

The Paris Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres has generously presented to the library of the Fund another fascicule of the great collection of Semitic inscriptions at which it has been engaged for something like half-a-century. Nearly 4,000 Phœnician and Punic inscriptions, nearly 1,000 Old South Arabian inscriptions, and over 3,000 Aramaic inscriptions have already been published, and now in the present volume nearly 340 Palmyrene inscriptions have been collected and edited with full notes. The eminent French scholar, M. J. B. Chabot, to whom we owe the volume, is so well-known for his work in the field of Semitic epigraphy that it need only be said that the fine edition of Semitic inscriptions undertaken by the Franch *savants* fully maintains its high level of scholarship, and that the admirable labours of the French in epigraphical and archæological research—and every reader of the *Q. S.* will recall the work of the late Clermont-Ganneau—again put all friends of Semitic studies in their debt. That the volume will be indispensable goes without saying, and while English students will always continue to find G. A. Cooke's admirable *Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* the best introduction to this field, the monumental corpus familiarly known as the C.I.S. sooner or later imposes itself upon one by reason of its unique store of information.

The Palmyrene inscriptions are, of course, those belonging to the short-lived power of Palmyra, the ancient Tadmor, which lies in the Syrian desert to the north-east of Damascus, about 150 miles distant. It was an important trading centre, and many of the Palmyrene inscriptions relate to the "chief of the caravan" or to the "chief of the market." Palymra flourished during the first three centuries of the Christian era, and was at the height of its prosperity about 130-270 A.D., when, after the fall of Zenobia, it quickly decayed. Its part in the history of the Roman and Parthian conflicts is well-known, and Roman and Greek influences left their mark upon both the administration and the language. The Palmyrene dialect was very closely related to that of the Nabataeans (their southern neighbours) and of the "Aramaic" portions of the books of Ezra and Daniel; but as in the case of the Nabataeans many of the personal names are Arab, though often Palmyrenes bore Roman names as well. The phraseology is often of interest, and sometimes might seem to suggest Jewish influence. In fact, several Jewish names recur. One of the best-known phrases is "to him whose name is blessed for ever, the good and compassionate one." The god in question is left unnamed; but the Palmyrenes venerated a "lord of the world (*or* of eternity)," and the Baal of the Sky, or Heaven, occupied the first place. This god, Bel, as he is called, had his temple at Palmyra, and his consort was Atargatis, or the "Syrian goddess" of the classical writers.

It is interesting to observe that the cult of the god of the neighbouring city of Baalbek spread to this country, to Carvoran, whence also comes an altar to the "Syrian goddess" erected by men of Hama (*i.e.*, Hamath), archers employed by Hadrian in building the Roman wall[1]. Indeed, the present fascicule of the C.I.S. starts off (No. 3,901) with the one and only Palmyrene inscription found in Great Britain, namely, at South Shields, in 1878. It is a stele representing a seated woman. There is a bilingual inscription in Palmyrene and Latin. The Latin runs *D*(*is*) *m*(*anibus*), *Regina liberta et conjuge Barates Palynrenus natione Catuallauna an*(*nis*) *xxx.* Evidently the Palmyrene (who bears a well known name, meaning "son of the [goddess] Ate") in the neighbouring Roman camp had married the freed-woman Regina (a name found on other Roman-British inscriptions) who was of the tribe of the native *Katouellani*, mentioned by Dio Cassius (lx. 20).

A few remarks may be offered upon some of the other inscriptions. No. 3,907 speaks of a monument (*naphsha*), the resting-place of the bones of a certain woman; here the word for "bones" is that in the curious Uzziah tablet published in the *Q.S.*, October, 1931, p. 218. No. 3,911 records the dedication of a pillar and roofing to the "great god" of the city of Nazala, another illustration of the avoidance of a divine name. No. 3,913 is the most famous of all Palmyrene inscriptions, an extensive tariff promulgated by the local Senate, and noteworthy for the light it throws upon the trade of the time[2]. A levy is laid upon importers of slaves, women, female slaves, camels, skins, salt, food, " pine cones and the like," bronze images, &c. The taxes were farmed out, and whereas usually the absence of a fixed tariff leads to abuses, this Palmyrene inscription abolishes the old bad usage when taxes were levied by custom, and specifies fixed rates.

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[1] See "the Cult of Baal and Astarte in England," *Q.S.*, October, 1909, pp. 280-284.

No. 3,946 speaks of Septimius Odainath as the " Director of the whole East " (*corrector totius provinciæ*).

No. 3,955 mentions apparently the otherwise unknown god " Compassionate " (*rākhēm*) ; but here as often elsewhere there are serious difficulties in the text[3]. In No. 3,972 a man erects an " abode " (*tashkeba*) to his god, Satrapes (?), the good god, that he and his family might have him as their patron (*ger*). The same word is used of patron and client, that is to say, the two sides of a single relationship. G. A. Cooke (p. 305) compares the double sense of the German word *Gastfreund*. There are other examples of this use in Palmyrene, and it is typical of Semitic to embody in one word (or in two forms of a word) the two aspects which our more advanced thought distinguishes. So it is that in Hebrew the word for " sin " means also the natural and inevitable effects (" punishment "), and there are other examples. No. 3,994 consists of identical bilinguals : and it is to be noticed that there are variations in both the Greek and the Palmyrene texts.

The volume is sumptuously printed. A special Palmyrene type has been employed, and where necessary the epigraphical peculiarities are reproduced. Plates containing the facsimiles are to accompany the next fascicule.

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[2] The bibliography throughout is so complete that it may be worth while to draw attention here to the failure to refer to A. A. Bevan's commentary on Daniel (pp. 214 *ff*) where the introduction of the tariff is published with notes.

[3] This is not the place for philological notes. Attention may, however, be drawn to such *cruces* as אתרמסין in No. 4,036 and the title in No. 4,064f. אפהלא די מצבעינא.

History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest. By A. T. Olmstead. Scribner's Sons, 1931, 36s.

This is an exceedingly handsome volume of about 700 pages and nearly 200 illustrations, plans, and a large map. The author, Professor of Oriental History at the University of Chicago, is already well known for his companion volume, the *History of Assyria*, and smaller works ; and, as he tells us (p. 625), hopes to bring out a later volume on the history of the Greco-Roman Orient. This book will be welcomed as much for its wealth of illustration as for the illuminating way in which Professor Olmstead has sought to make the Old Testament and its background a living unity. Starting from what we now call Pre-history and Proto-history, he has woven together the evidence of the monuments, the results of excavation, and the Old Testament, and the volume as a whole can be cordially recommended as a bright, readable and highly attractive introduction to the deeper and more intricate problems that, sooner or later, confront the student.

So we are taken from Serabit in the peninsula of Sinai up to Sendschirli and Carchemish ; and Sodom, Beth-Shemesh, Beth-Shan, Byblus and a host of other places are brought before us as occasion demands. There is little that has not been used for illustrative matter, and the reader who carefully peruses the text and illustrations will gain an excellent idea of what is being done—and also what remains to be done, in order to make the results of modern research less incomplete.

A few points invite notice. There are most interesting paragraphs on the origin of the alphabet (pp. 93 f., 235 f.). The invading Khabiru of the Amarna Letters are identified with the Hebrews, and the name of Joshua himself is even discovered in the Amarna Letters east of the Jordan in Gilead (pp. 159, 197). The estimate of Jehu is noticeably harsh (p. 402). After the fall of Samaria, the deported captives, who were the higher classes, " swung the weight of Hebrew influence to Mesopotamia, which long remained a centre of the best Hebrew thought " (p. 460). The story of Mordecai and Esther (" names invoking pagan deities ") is explained in a novel way, following the lines of Hoschander's monograph (p. 614). Good use is made of the recently discovered Ras Shamra tablets (p.239, etc.). Objects with the name of the Hyksos king Khian have been found at Crete and Baghdad, but Prof. Olmstead wisely observes that they point to diplomatic or trade relations rather than —as is sometimes guessed—to conquest. The explanation of Hosea's marriage implies that Israel, like the prophet's wife, had been perfectly honest in accordance with her lights (p. 437).

The Code of Hammurabi and the Pentateuchal laws are compared, but the Assyrian code seems to be ignored (pp. 107 *ff.*). Archæological material is sometimes introduced without an indication of its date, *e.g.*, the (late) god of Baalbek (p. 118), Derceto of Ashkelon (p. 266), and the god Marna of Gaza (p. 269). Such an equation as Dudu (of the Amarna Letters) with " a David " is rather mystifying to the ordinary reader (p. 178), for whom, also, the names on the plan of Jerusalem are probably too small (p. 317). Professor Olmstead prefers such spellings as *rab shage* (p. 477), but " Quril or Cyril " (p. 434) is, to say the least, misleading.

A selection is given of the " royal jar stamps " (p. 466), but the inclusion of the seal in the top left-hand corner (= *Corpus Inscr. Semit.* ii, 82, seal of *s-s-r-el*) is somewhat bewildering to the reader. In fact, it is not always easy to find the letterpress relating to each illustration (Fig. 174 f. on p. 420, Fig. 177 on p. 528). The view that the important papyrus of 419 B.C., of the Jews in Elephantine, shows that the feast of unleavened bread is being introduced for the first time, and by orders of a Persian king (p. 605), needs surely a little expansion on the lines of Cowley's discussion (No. 21, to which there is merely a reference). Such abruptness is not uncommon (*e.g.*, the tribe of Ephraim took its name from the wild bull it had worshipped in the desert, p. 201). It should be added that Professor Olmstead observes that the ruined fort described by Woolley and Lawrence (*Wilderness of Zin*, p. 64) was discovered by his party, May 28, 1905, so that the statement of priority (p. 64 n. 1) should be corrected accordingly.

All in all, the reader will find here much to interest and instruct him ; and Professor Olmstead's book, along with the recent works of Lods (now translated into English), Toussaint, Garstang, Albright, not to mention others, will serve still further to popularise the fruits of research in the fascinating field of archæology.

Posthumous Essays. By Harold M. Wiener, M.A., LL.B. Oxford University Press, 1932. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Herbert Loewe, Reader in Rabbinics, Cambridge University, has here published some essays of the late Harold Marcus Wiener, whose tragic end in the Jerusalem riots of August, 1929, will not be readily forgotten (*Q.S.*, 1929, p. 191 *f.*). The deceased gentleman had not revised his MS., and there were gaps and obscure passages which it was difficult to make good. But these essays, which are now issued in accordance with his testamentary instructions, are published, as Mr. Loewe writes, " not merely *ex testamento*, but rather *ex pietate*." Mr. Wiener had had a legal training, and was a Whewell Scholar at Cambridge. A convinced and strict Jew, he devoted himself to Old Testament study in order to substantiate the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and to refute what has become the modern position of Biblical criticism. If, on the one hand, his often unnecessarily vigorous writings did not exercise the influence he had hoped, on the other hand, there were sides of his personality which gained him the esteem of those who knew the man as he was. The essays here collected give a good idea of all that Wiener stood for: his interest in history, archæology and law; his readiness to re-arrange and correct the Biblical text—the " hotchpot," he calls it (p. 39, note); his fulminations against the modern " Documentary Hypothesis "; and a certain attitude towards the authors of views with which he disagreed which was resented. For my part, I think I have read almost everything that Wiener wrote, and have found it useful to have before me the opinions of a worker who, by temperament and training, approached the Pentateuch from a standpoint not held by most students of the Bible.

Barhebræus' Scholia on the Old Testament. I. Genesis.—II. Samuel. By Martin Sprengling and W. C. Graham. The University of Chicago Press.

In this, Vol. XIII of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, the Professor of Semitic Languages and the Old

Testament Professor of the University present in sumptuous form what, at first glance, might seem to be one of the least useful of undertakings. Yet not only is the work of Barhebræus of importance for a deeper study of the Syriac version of the Old Testament, but this old thirteenth century writer is one of the outstanding men of the Middle Ages. Nöldeke in an excellent and entertaining sketch of the old Jacobite writer, summed up : " Altogether he was one of the most eminent men of his Church and nation." The value of his *Scholia* lies in the fact that in that age men put all their knowledge into their interpretation of the Bible ; so that when the writer is a great humanist, as Barhebræus was, his writings become a storehouse in which readers of most varied interests will find it worth while to delve.

The volume gives in facsimile the oldest text of the " Storehouse of Mysteries," as it was called, with notes, collations of MSS. and a full page-by-page translation. Among points that call for notice may be mentioned, first, the allegorical method of interpretation, often carried to excessive and absurd lengths ; the statement that every Philistine king was called "Abimelech," that is, says Barhebræus, father and king, like the Pharaoh of Egypt and the Roman Cæsar ; Joseph's coat is one with long sleeves (see Driver's note on 2 Sam. xiii. 18 sq.) ; Moses was called by his parents Malkel. The prohibition not to boil the kid in its mother's milk means that it is not to be killed while living on its mother's milk, or it is not to be boiled in it ; in the former case it admonishes men to show mercy, in the latter it has a symbolical meaning. Honey is not to be offered (Lev. ii, 11 sq.) because the bee is unclean and alights on dead bodies. The bat suckles from behind (pp. 15, 163). Azazael is God Almighty—it is not the name of Michael, nor is it Satan as the Manichæans say, but in both the goats is represented the Messiah, who died as man and lives as God (p. 169). The wizards (*yadu'e*) do their soothsaying by members of the bodies of men, and the shoulder-blades of sheep. On Deut. xxxiv, 8, he says : " it is probable that Joshua the son of Nun wrote these last words." Baal is an image of Nebo who is Hermes (p. 279). Chemosh is Kronos (p. 287). As a parallel to the " Shibboleth," he observes that in his day the Ma'addites pronounce *q* like *g* and the Palestinians like '. Micah's Levite was son of Manasseh, son of Gershon, son of the great Moses. On 1 Sam. v 5, he says that the Mongols similarly step over the threshold. 2 Sam. xii, 30 : the crown of their king weighed 12,000 half-shekels ; precious was the crown in value and not in metal by reason of the precious stones : in other words, Barhebræus takes the measure to be one of value and not weight.

The editors state that good progress has been made in preliminary work, chiefly in Doctors' theses, by younger and less experienced men ; and Professor Sprengling himself has written an article on "Scapulimancy and the Mongols" (in the *American Anthropologist*). The whole work is within sight of completion, and the editors are to be thanked for a particularly arduous but highly valuable piece of work.

S. A. C.

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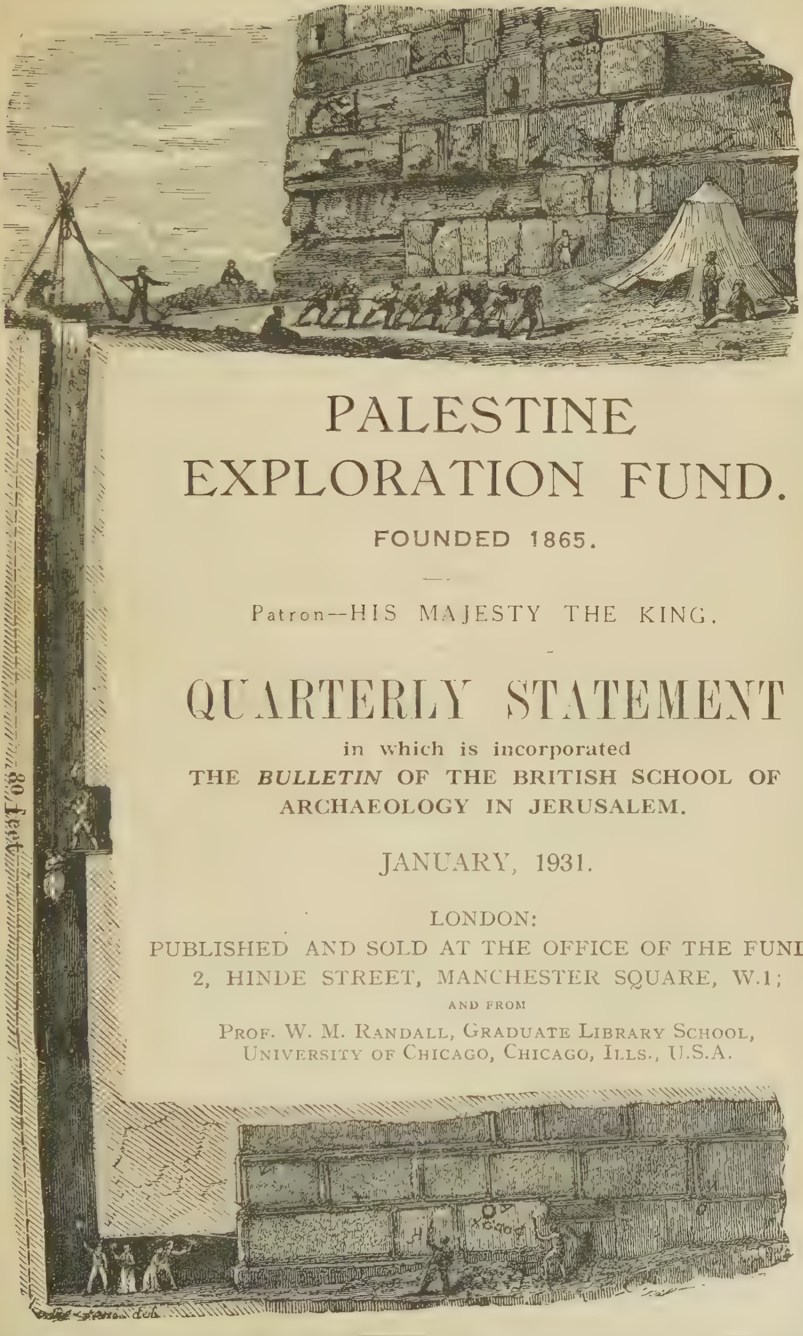

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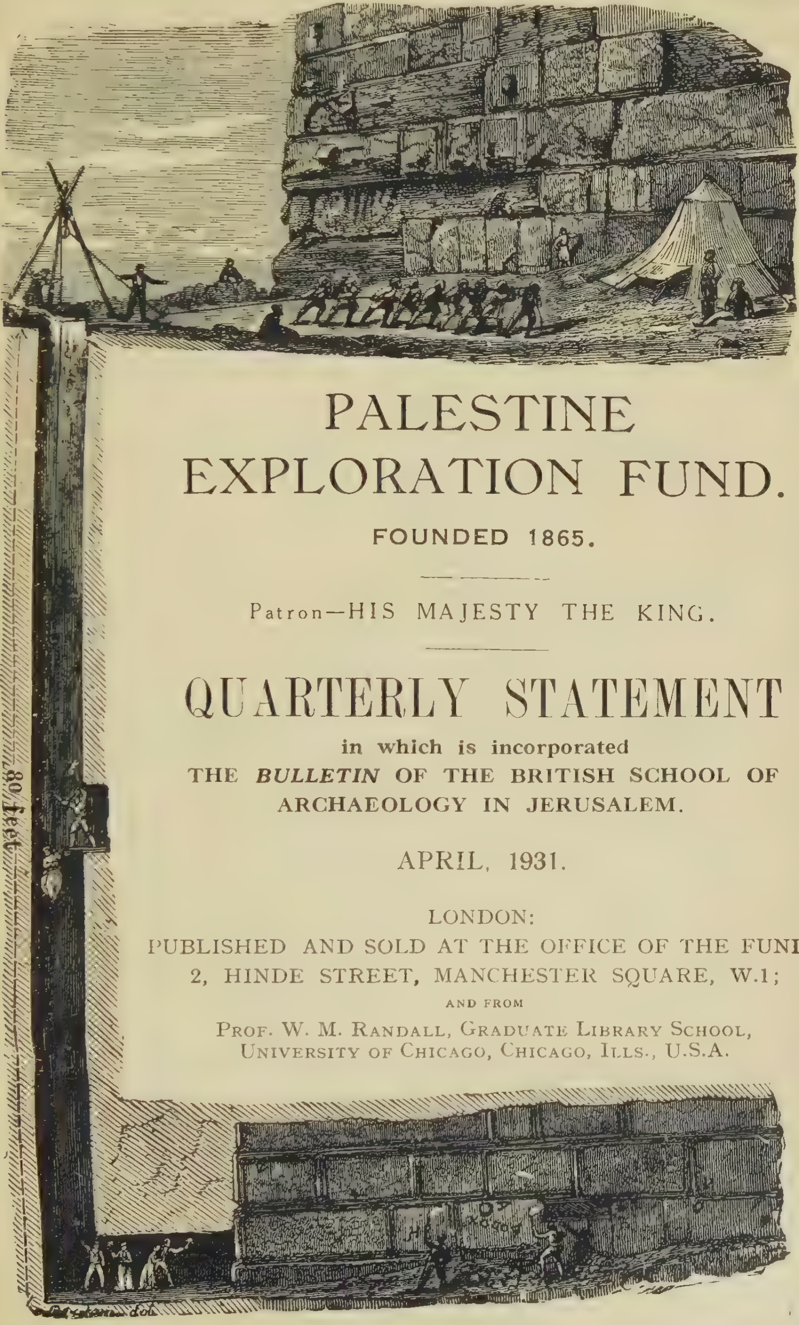

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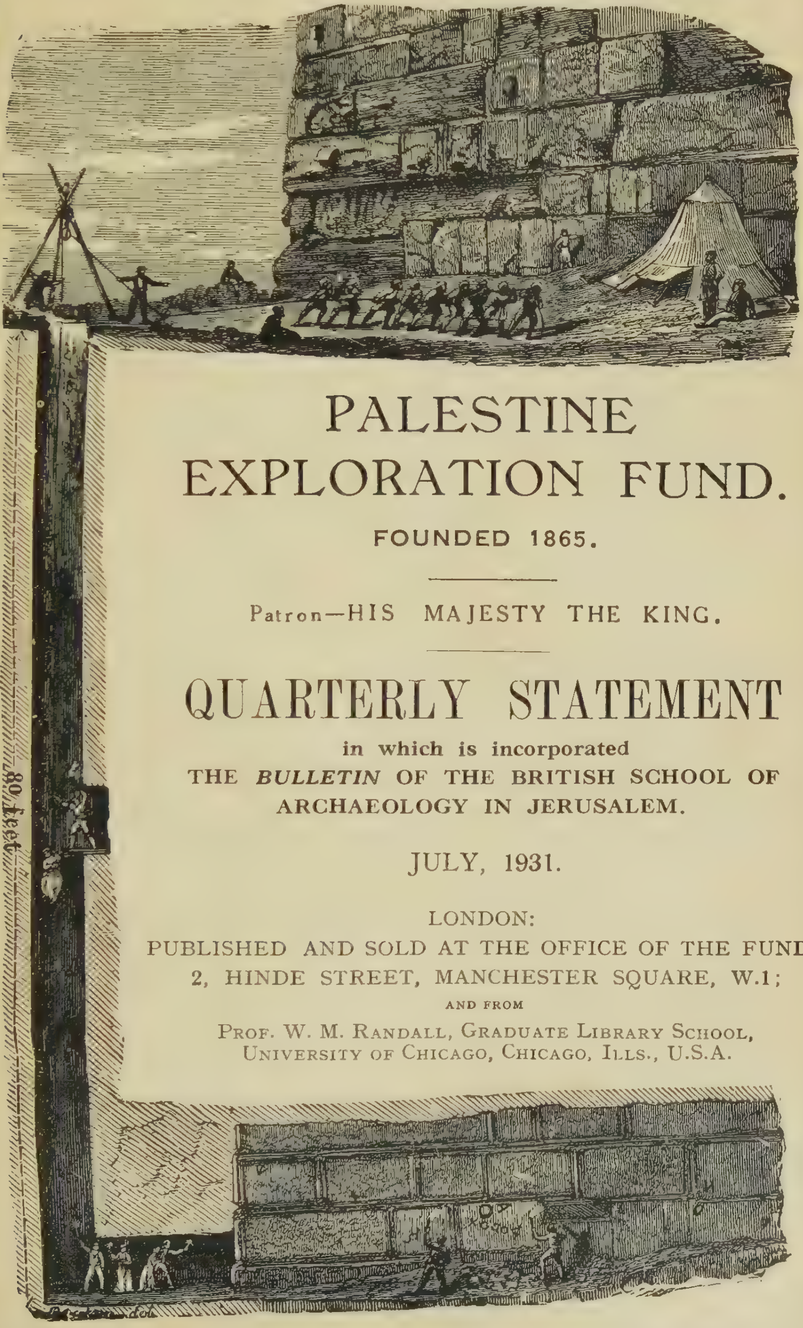

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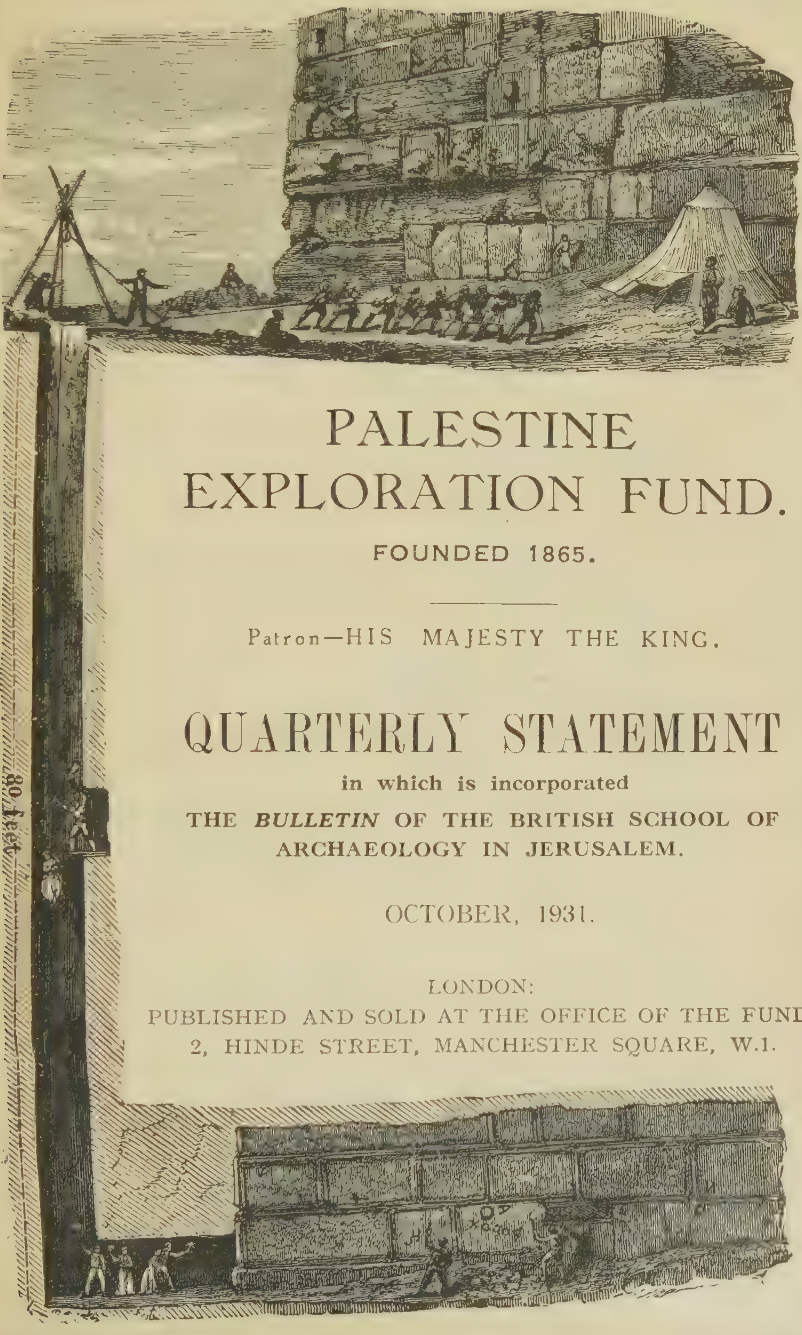

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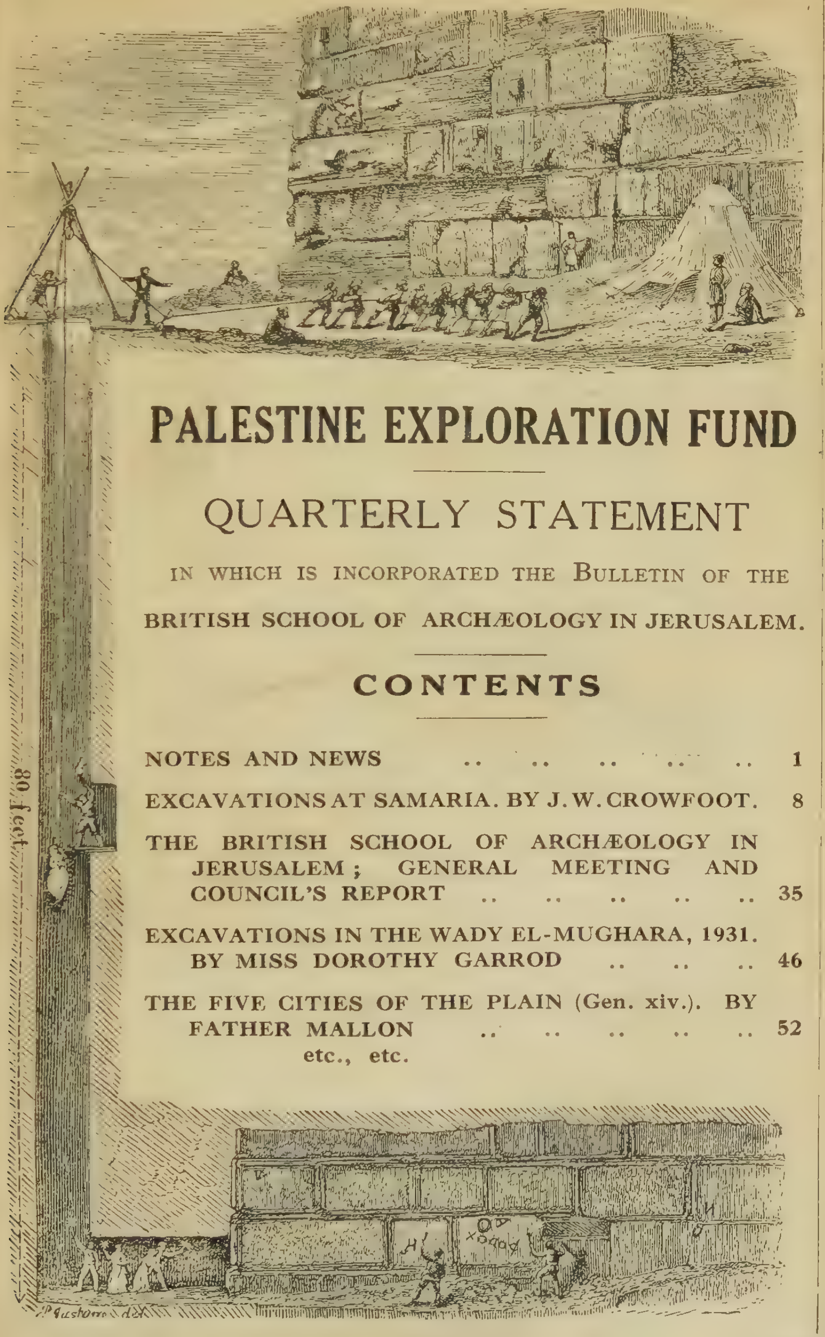

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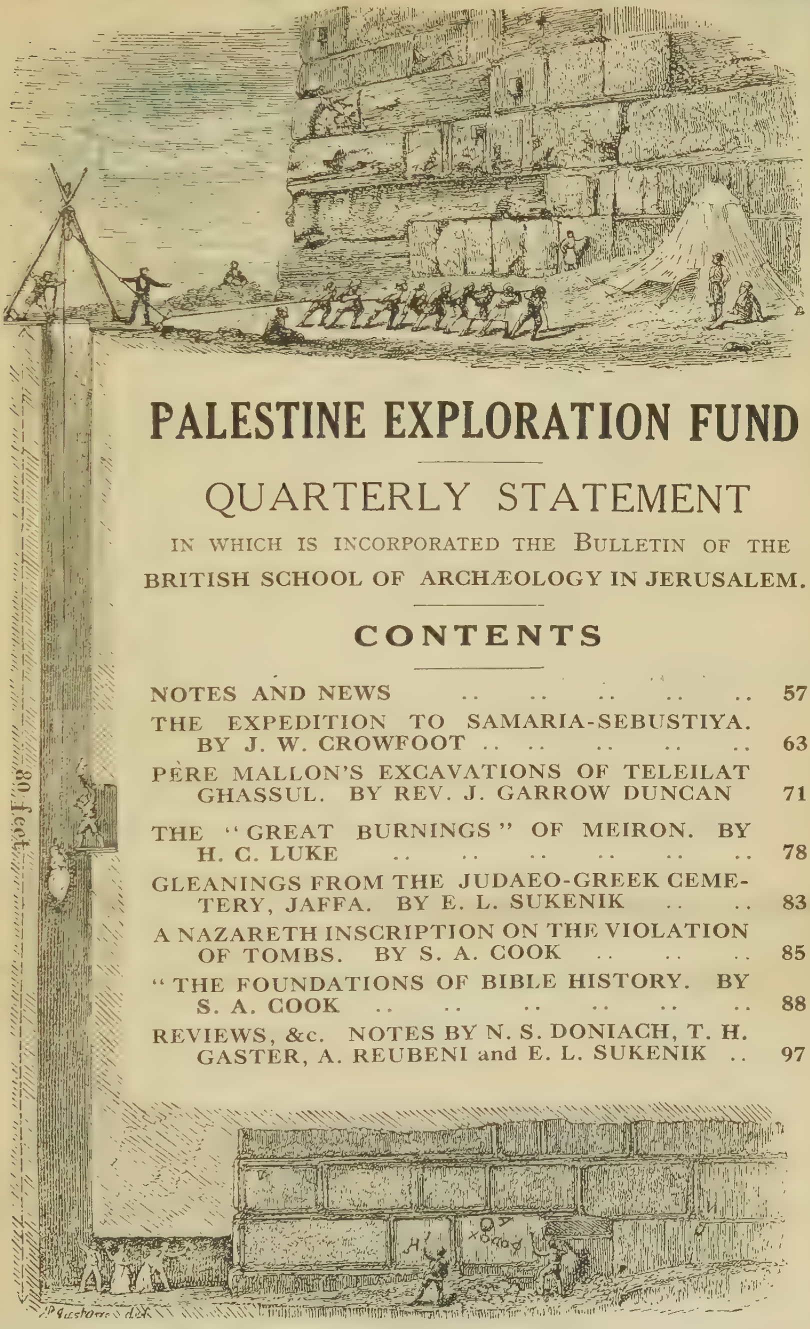

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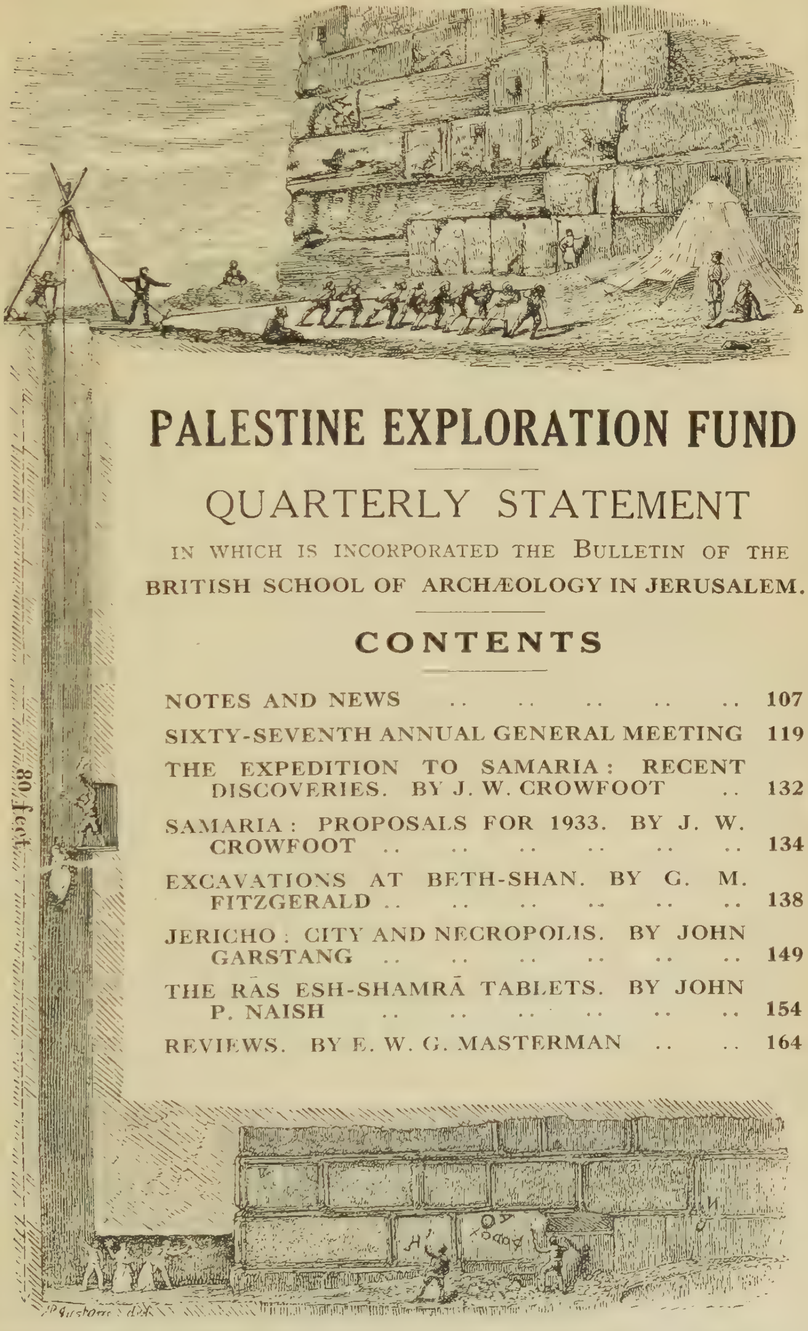

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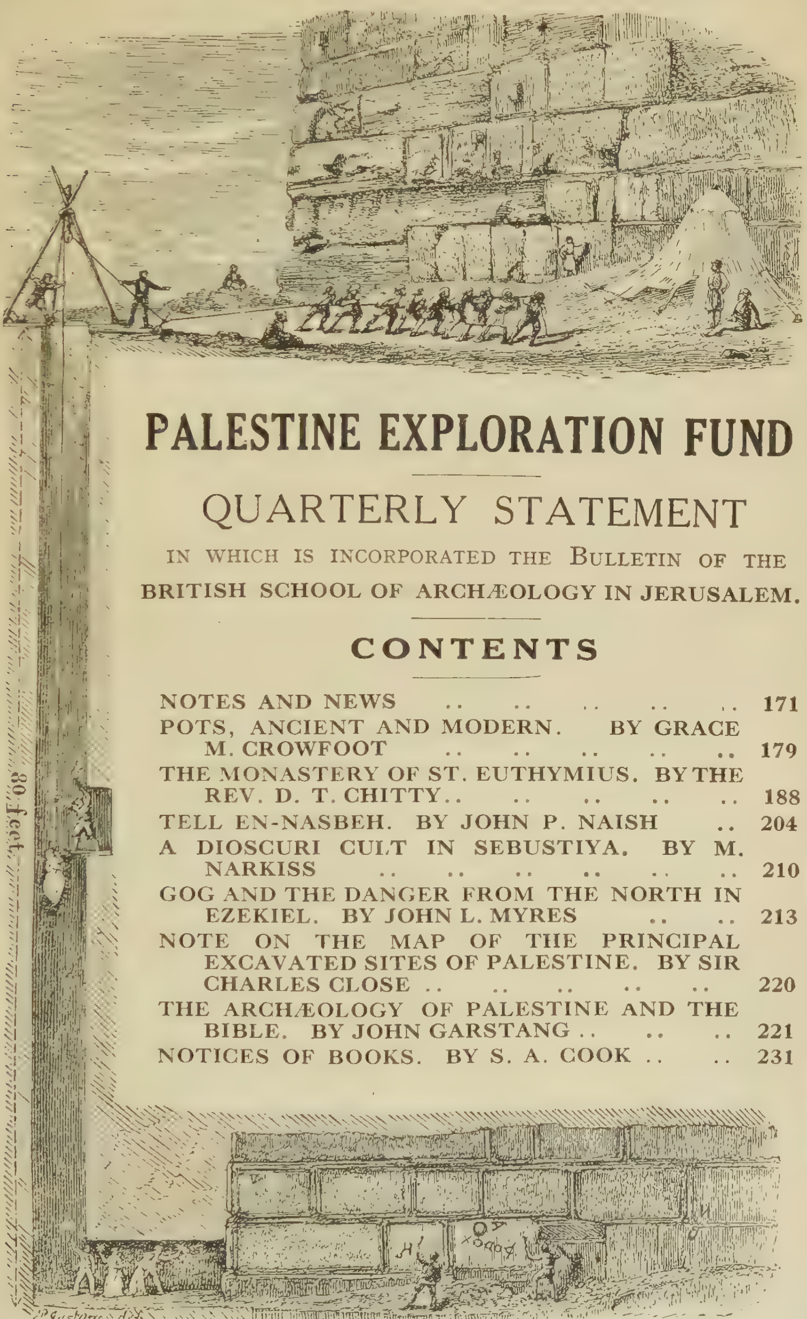

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